

Rewriting the Middle Ages
in the Twentieth Century
Vol. II: National Traditions

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Edited by Jaume Aurell and Julia Pavón

BREPOLS

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Editorial Note

In 2005, the co-edited volume *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century*, was published. This collective work gathered twenty profiles of key medievalists of the 20th century, preceded by an introduction on the recent evolution and current situation of medieval studies. The criterion of selection for that volume was the influence of the medievalists discussed, not only within the field of medieval studies, but also in the more general disciplines of history and, some of them such as Charles Haskins, Marc Bloch, Jacques Le Goff, and Georges Duby, in humanities and social sciences – anthropology, sociology, art history, and literary criticism, among others.

Because of the excellent international reception of that volume, we decided to continue our work by collecting in future volumes profiles of other medievalists, some perhaps less known than those included in the first volume, but who have nonetheless been important because of their influence and reputation in more specific fields or less studied geographical areas of medievalism.

Since medievalism has been, since the 19th century, an inspired source for the recovery of social and national identities, we the editors decide to choose the topic “national traditions” and centre this volume on profiles of medievalists who have been significant in diverse countries in the development of both medievalism and national identity. The wide range of the cultural and geographical origins of the medievalists profiled in this volume – from England, Spain, France, Germany, Russia, Portugal, Romania, Poland, Argentina, Bulgaria, United States, Belgium, Holland, and Turkey – best illustrates the enthusiastic reception of the idea. This focus, which perhaps (and apparently) contravenes the actual strength of the process of globalisation, is especially fascinating in the field medievalism, because most of the modern nations – specially those in Europe and Asia – have found their justification, inspiration, and legendary and historical foundations in the Middle Ages.

We hope we can continue in the future with other volumes of this series, and we would like to connect to other medievalists who can collaborate with us in the exciting and necessary task of profiling those who have preceded us, in order to recover and appreciate their legacy.

Finally, the Editors would like to thank Grace Concepcion, for her meticulous copyediting and careful revision of the final version of the volume.

We appreciate the work of Christopher Lebbe, whose encouragement while we were working on the book demonstrates Brepols' commitment to the study of 20th century medievalism.

The Editors

INTRODUCTION:

Modern Medievalism and National Traditions

Jaume AURELL

Medievalism and nationalism have been deeply linked since Romanticism entered the cultural scene in 19th-century Europe. Since then, historians have emphasised the myth-making power of nations, their central role in history, and their medieval origins. The mythic nation is presented as an eternal and lasting reality, but also perfectible and, therefore, subject to being historicised.¹ As Charles O. Carbonell argued, the nation is constituted by a “*cortège d’images, largement répandues et diffusées, transmises de génération en génération, qui donnent au groupe sa cohésion culturelle et sa cohérence morale*”.² Thus, the concept of nation automatically leads to the concept of identity.

Historians conscious of this potentiality of the nation have dedicated their best efforts to analysing the medieval origins of European nations, especially since the irruption of Romanticism and Historicism. These efforts have taken the form of analyses of “national histories”, in addition to attempts to detail the culturally specificities that serve as identifying attributes of these nations.³ This has given rise to the re-foundation of medievalism, which for some is not just “the study of the Middle Ages” but rather “the study of the image created by each epoch of the Middle Ages”.⁴ In this way, interest in the Middle Ages

1. Jeannie Bauvois-Cauchepin, *Enseignement de l’histoire et mythologie nationale. Allemagne-France du début du XX^e siècle aux années 1950* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2002), p. 1; Maike Oergel, “Introduction: National Myth – Mythic or National?”, *The Return of King Arthur and the Nibelungen. National Myth in Nineteenth-Century English and German Literature* (Belin: Gruyter, 1998), pp. 1-10.

2. Charles O. Carbonell, “Mythes et mythologies politiques, approche d’une définition et d’une typologie”, C.O. Carbonell and J. Rives, eds., *Mythes et politiques* (Toulouse: Presses de l’Institut d’Études Politiques de Toulouse, 1992), p. 10.

3. John Breuilly, “Historians and the Nation”, in Peter Burke, ed. *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 55-87; Olivier Dumoulin, “L’historien professeur de nation”, *Le rôle social de l’historien. De la chaire au prétoire* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003), pp. 176-187.

4. See Allen J. Frantzen, *Speaking two Languages. Traditional Disciplines and Contemporary Theory in Medieval Studies* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991); Leslie J. Workman, ed., *Medievalism in England* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992); John Van Engen, ed., *The Past and the Future of Medieval Studies* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame

has increased, and medievalism has been strengthened as a multidisciplinary and cross-cultural phenomenon.

As a consequence, medievalism has been closely united to national traditions since its very foundation, and this book aims to contribute to a better comprehension of this phenomenon. Romantic intellectuals' attraction to the medieval period largely explains the influence of medievalism in the formation of contemporary national identities. Medievalists from France, Spain, England, Italy, Germany, Poland, Argentina, Bulgaria, Belgium, Romania, Russia, Turkey, United States, Holland, and Portugal, many of them present in this volume, became not only mere academics dedicated to the study of the Middle Ages, but also intellectuals present in the public debate. Likewise, the great medievalists of the other nations in Europe with a glorious medieval past (like Scotland, Catalonia, or Croatia) almost automatically became the providential guardians of a tradition that was running the risk of extinction.⁵ In the 20th century, these great medievalists, some of whom are studied in this volume, had already become authentic "national chroniclers", consolidators of the identities of the countries to which they felt closely linked both intellectually and emotionally. They actively participated in debates that exceeded strictly academic limits, delving into a wide range of political and cultural areas. They are the main characters of this book, which aims to explore the academic questions related to the foundations of contemporary medievalism, and its connections to national traditions and identities.

This, therefore, is a book that looks back to the origins of contemporary medievalism and demonstrates its influence on the entire spectrum of the academic, cultural, and intellectual world. The "origins of the Middle Ages" and, therefore, of contemporary medievalism, are firmly established in the 19th

Press, 1994); R. Howard Bloch, and Stephen G. Nichols, eds., *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); Kathleen Biddick, *The Shock of Medievalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998) Richar Utz and Tom Shippey, eds., *Medievalism in the Modern World* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); Jaume Aurell, "Introduction", in Aurell and Crosas, eds., *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005); Paul Freedman and Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Medievalisms Old and New: The Rediscovery of Alterity in North American Medieval Studies", en *American Historical Review*, 103 (1998), pp. 677-704; Francisco Javier Caspistegui, "José Antonio Maravall, entre el medievalismo cultural y el historiográfico", *Jerónimo Zurita. Revista de Historia*, 82 (2007), pp. 99-138.

5. Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-C.1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Enric Pujol, *Història i reconstrucció nacional. La historiografia catalana a l'època de Ferrán Soldevila (1894-1971)* (Catarroja: Afers, 2003).

century, with the bloom of Romanticism: "For medievalists the major historical development of the nineteenth century was the rehabilitation of the Middle Ages as an age demanding sympathetic study and understanding if men hoped to unearth their cultural, spiritual, and institutional heritage and, above all, to trace the birth of their own nations".⁶ The power of the Middle Ages as a foundation for national traditions should not be underestimated when we try to understand contemporary medievalism. Medievalism as we know it today emerged as a Romantic reaction, specifically against 18th-century Classicism and reason. Medievalism then moved to the offensive, overcoming old inferiority complexes arising from the anti-medieval reaction of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. The Romantics' idealisation of the Middle Ages overcame the disdain with which previous historians had treated this period by means of elevation. As Barbara Keller concludes, the image of the Middle Ages shifts from the concomitant Enlightenment bias toward the Middle Ages to the increasingly positive pre-Romantic imagination, manifest in "the desecrations and pillaging that turn to a fervent religiosity, the ultimate complete reversal in prevalent attitudes toward the Middle Ages".⁷

From this new perspective, the Gothic cathedrals were transformed from superstitious monuments into fascinating works of art. Feudalism ceased to be a mere system of domination, and emphasis was put on the system of "pacts" which underlies its very formulation. Medieval religious sentiment was no longer defined by the predominance of irrationality but rather by the superiority of that sentiment. Vernacular languages were analysed in and of themselves as seeds of the new realities of culture and identity rather than as forms of decadence in the classical tradition. The new monarchies were finally considered to be the seeds of contemporary nations, with their first descendants as the founding heroes of these same nations. In consonance with the growth of nationalism, the medievalists emphasised that national origins were rooted in the Middle Ages, when the cultural specificity and political grandeur of the European nations were forged. In this context, it is not strange that Eric Hobsbawm should define the *fin-de-siècle* as a period of enormous invention of traditions considering, above all, the great identity-defining force of the Middle Ages.⁸ In this way, cultural Romanticism and political national-

6. Bryce Lyon, *The Origins of the Middle Ages. Pirenne's challenge to Gibbon* (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 28.

7. Barbara G. Keller, *The Middle Ages Reconsidered. Attitudes in France from the Eighteenth Century through the Romantic Movement* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), p. 8.

8. Eric Hobsbawm, "The Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914", *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 263-307.

ism reinforced the power of academic medievalism, a fact which also contributed decisively to its popularity and dissemination.⁹

The aim of this book is precisely to recover the idea of the power of “national projection” in 20th-century medievalism, and this has been the criterion in selecting the medievalists for study. It is evident that we cannot speak of these medievalists as being the most representative or outstanding, but we have striven to include a fair selection of the national traditions that, during the Romantic period, turned their gaze towards the Middle Ages in an effort to better understand their own cultural identities. The potent mythological charge of the Romantic vision of the Middle Ages among thinkers and writers such as Charles Nodier, Victor Hugo, Prosper Mérimée, Henri Beyle Stendhal, Théophile Gautier, Alexandre Dumas and Alphonse de Lamartine, and even the scientific approach to the Middle Ages by Romantic medievalists such as Claude Fauriel, Jean-Jacques Ampère, Sainte-Palaye, Jules Michelet, and Augustin Thierry, was replaced by the figure of 20th-century scholar-medievalists who are exponents of the figures studied in this book.¹⁰ As a consequence, the “invention of the tradition” used by 19th-century Romantics was replaced by the “analysis of the tradition” characteristic of 20th-century academics.¹¹ It will always be difficult to distinguish between the two types of tradition, the genuine and the invented. It is evident, however, that among the medievalists of the 20th century there was a serious and systematic attempt to delve into tradition by using primary documentary sources to complement the literary and artistic sources used by the medievalists before them.

During the 20th century, academic medievalism achieved a rehabilitated view of the Middle Ages, which up to that point had been considered an anomalous interruption of modernity.¹² The Middle Ages were no longer seen as just an essential epoch for understanding national identity, but also one

9. Peter Mandler, *History and National Life* (London: Profile, 2002), p. 11.

10. I take the catalog of these authors from Keller, *The Middle Ages Reconsidered*. See also Elizabeth Fay, *Romantic Medievalism. History and the Romantic Literary Ideal* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

11. The concept of “invention of the tradition” was launched by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger in the *Past and Present* conference and adopted as a title for an internationally successful book first published in 1983: Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

12. Miri Rubin, “The Middle Ages, or Getting Less Medieval with the Past”, Peter Burke, ed., *History and Historians in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 11–36.

that could be analysed for its specific values.¹³ If the goal of the medievalists of the 19th century was to identify the implicit yet particular characteristics of each nation in the Middle Ages, the medievalists of the 20th century delved deep into the intrinsic values of this same period. As Michael Alexander has convincingly argued, “medievalism is a word which gestures towards an unwieldy province of cultural history which comprises both the Middle Ages and what has been made of them”.¹⁴ This book strives to augment knowledge of medievalism of the 20th century, something which will undoubtedly also contribute to a better understanding of both the Middle Ages and the contemporary world.

13. Regarding the concept of urban “revival” of medievalism, see Carl E. Schorske, “Medieval Revival and Its Modern Content: Coleridge, Pugin, and Disraeli”, *Thinking with History. Explorations in the Passage to Modernism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998) pp. 71–89.

14. Michael Alexander, *Medievalism. The Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

Alan Forey (1933)

Malcolm Barber and Maria Bonet

Alan Forey's Contribution

Alan Forey is one of the most prominent figures in the renewal of historical research on medieval orders, a revival which was started by British medievalists and has largely been led by them over at least the last forty years. The highlight of his contribution to the field is a complete history of one Templar regional settlement in the Iberian Peninsula, from its origins to its dissolution. This unique piece of research is surely a landmark, as it modernizes our knowledge of the orders in the Hispanic territories, being the most important study on the Temple in the historiography devoted to Spain. His other works, on aspects related to the military orders in the peninsular medieval kingdoms and elsewhere, introduce and develop new issues and methods, and further demonstrate his ability to break new ground.

Our author has therefore played a leading role in the transformation of the national traditions dedicated to this field. His publications on the history of the Temple in the Crown of Aragon rank among the finest studies on military orders in general. Furthermore, he has brought understanding of the history of the military orders in the Hispanic regions up to date. His pioneering works, together with those of other authors from the English tradition such as Derek Lomax, Joseph O'Callaghan, or especially Anthony Luttrell, have been a driving force behind the renewal of the history of Spanish military orders, and have raised it to a level of European importance.

The history of the orders, and indeed of the crusades themselves, is practically a field of its own in present-day medievalism, not only because of the current astonishing peak of interest in the subject but also because of its own dynamic, characterized by an empirical method and a certain dismissal of the 'fashions' or trends in historiography. Despite the increasing number of published works in recent decades, very few historians, Alan Forey among them, have managed to offer new orientations or explanations in this well-ploughed terrain. Others, not as creative or as wise, have taken advantage of the wave of interest in this topic, and particularly in the Temple, perhaps masking the real progress of the high-quality studies. Through such work, this author has promoted awareness of orders in general during the twelfth and thirteenth cen-

turies by means of an important range of publications dedicated to fundamental and defining aspects of these institutions.

Alan Forey could perhaps best be described as a practical historian, always mindful of the documentation and events. He has apparently never been particularly fond of making theoretical assertions and has rejected versions which are too interpretative or speculative. And yet, his practice has taken on a theoretical character and deserves to be a model. Accordingly, he has focused on key issues such as the definition of the main functions of these orders, the application of the principle of cause and effect and the use of fundamental methods such as comparison. His approach to military orders has played an important role in modernizing this speciality, going well beyond the descriptive tradition which dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century and which is still, somewhat surprisingly, favoured by some. His work is far from that of a positivist and encompasses a wealth of topics and perspectives that have influenced other publications produced in the nineties during a second renewal of these studies.

Alan Forey was born in 1933 in Mitcham, Surrey, England and first encountered medieval history while studying at Wadham College, Oxford, from 1951 to 1954. There he obtained first class honours in modern history. However, it was only at the end of his undergraduate studies that he decided to specialize in this period. His initial interest was in researching a European history subject, possibly centring on Spain or Italy, rather than studying one particular monastery, as was the tendency in Oxford at that time. His supervisor, the prestigious Hispanist, Peter Russell, proposed he looked at the Aragonese nobility. But once he had set to work, he realized the magnitude of this particular research topic, and decided it would require more time than was available. Consequently, he changed his focus to a study of the Temple in Aragon, partly as a result of a suggestion from Anthony Luttrell, who was working on the Aragonese Hospitallers, and partly because the theme clearly needed more investigation. What, at first, might have appeared a more limited, clearly defined theme did not prove to be the case. As it turned out, Forey had to handle an extraordinary volume of documents, providing a challenge which would school this novice historian.¹

1. We have had the chance to consult Alan Forey's text, *Alan Forey: Teruel Paper*, now forthcoming, where he described his career in the *Third International Conference. Half a Century of Studies on Crusades and Military Orders 1951-2001. A Tribute to Sir Steven Runciman (1903-2000)*, organized by Luís García Guijarro, pp. 1-2.

A Unique Study of the Temple in Spain

His first research, submitted and accepted as a doctoral thesis in 1963, became his book *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (1973), which offered the first modern monograph on the Temple in a peninsular Crown and, indeed, in Western Europe as a whole. Previously, the only work on the Temple in a part of the lands of the Crown of Aragon region had been written by Joaquim Miret i Sans in 1910.² This was a descriptive study, which was neither balanced in its treatment nor particularly thorough, despite the abundant information it offered. In addition to Miret's book, the first third of the twentieth century had seen the publication of some short descriptive works and sources from Catalonia, as for instance the inventories of Templar houses. In addition, German historians had edited more important and complete sources, such as those related to the order's abolition by H. Finke in 1907.³

Significantly, more works on the Templars in the Crown of Aragon began to appear in the fifties and, especially, in the sixties. Among Spanish authors, for the first time contributions published were an attempt to take a generalist orientation, but in fact they provided a superficial or partial treatment of the issues. Studies focused mainly on castles and commanderies, topics which have always been among the principal lines of research in the field. Indeed, over the years, articles and books dealing with these administrative Templar units have continued to appear, but too frequently such studies have failed to take the broader context of the Temple's workings into account. This limitation continued to be a feature of many publications in the field, even after the release of Forey's first book. At that time, only Santos García Larragueta had undertaken a study of one priory in its entirety, and as such was innovative in dealing with larger institutional themes related to the orders in the north-eastern peninsular countries. Given the differences between Forey's and García Larragueta's work, the latter cannot be considered a precedent, but it confirmed the need, felt by some at the time, for studies which set the results of their research within a broader, more general context.⁴

2. Joaquim Miret i Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya. Aplech de noves y documents històrics* (Barcelona: Impremta de la Casa de la Caritat, 1910).

3. Heinrich Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, 2 vols (Münster: Druck und Verlag der Aschendorffen Buchhandlung, 1907).

4. Santos García Larragueta, *El gran priorato de Navarra de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén (siglos XII-XIII)* (Pamplona: Institución "Príncipe de Viana", 1957), and 'El Temple en Navarra', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 11 (1981), pp. 635-61.

Arguably, Alan Forey was the first to respond to this need, by explaining the particular development of the Templar institution as well as its reach into all areas of the politics and society of the age. Moreover, he devoted his attention to the development of the international organization of the Temple, its relationship with some other ecclesiastical institutions, the brothers' military involvement and their relations with the monarchy. All this was done without neglecting the social and economic basis of the Temple, a subject which is not always treated in general writings about orders. Despite this groundbreaking achievement, for many years Spanish publications continued to deal with commanderies in strictly manorial terms. The fact that this great work has not been translated is indicative of the state of current Spanish research in the area, though, paradoxically, Miret i Sans' 1910 book has recently been reprinted.⁵

From 1957 to 1959, Alan Forey was mostly working in Spanish archives, and above all in Barcelona. His debut work was based on important collections of unpublished documents from these archives, mainly from the *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* in Barcelona, and on others such as the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* in Madrid, as well as his characteristically wide-ranging knowledge of the bibliography. At that time it was not easy to consult these archival sources, because some were not adequately described, as was the case of the royal registers from the Barcelona chancellery, or, even worse, merely tied up in bundles, as occurred with certain parchments found in Madrid.⁶ The difficulty of working on the sources in the chancellery section effectively prevented the author from returning to Spain to follow up these studies while he was teaching. Unfortunately the problem in this section still persists to some extent.

The author's mastery of the material is patent in his ability to build a comprehensive, synthesized and explanatory history from primary sources, and his book could be considered exceptional for this reason. Joseph O'Callaghan's affirmation that 'any additional studies will only confirm or complete the picture that he has drawn' can be taken as an indication of the seminal importance of this work.⁷ This first book sets itself apart from some studies of other orders, in which the use of sources results in a mere description of events, without any attempt at analysis or, in some cases, without even creating links between them. In contrast, Forey's treatment of the documentation is always critical and very meticulous.

5. *Les cases de templers i hospitalers a Catalunya. Aplec de noves i documents històrics*, introd. J. M. Sans i Trave (Lleida: Pagès editors, 2006).

6. Forey, *Teruel Paper: Alan Forey*, p. 3.

7. Joseph O'Callaghan, 'The Templars in the Corona de Aragón', *Speculum*, 52 (1977), pp. 969-70.

The Templars in the Corona de Aragón could be described as having three aims: to establish the basis of the Templars' power and wealth, to account for the exploitation of their resources, and to explain their internal organisation. The first part, related to the power bases, focuses on the fundamental developments in the consolidation of the order as a major institution at that time, determined by its military function, its royal patronage and the peculiarities of its fusion of a regular and military organisation. Therefore the author explains these three principal conditions that gave rise to the growth and consolidation of this knighthood in such a way that the relationships are shown implicitly. Moreover, before his work was published, these questions had not been dealt with from a global or explanatory perspective.

The book points out the participation of the Templars in the process of expansion or *Reconquista* with the growth in its patrimony and its rise due to royal grants. The consolidation of the Aragonese Temple as a result of the attainment of patrimonial goods and privileges generated controversies and alliances with other privileged social groups. The Templars developed secular activities because of their condition as a great patrimonial power, just as their internal organization and relations with other aristocratic groups grew. In particular they were very important money lenders as is made very clear in the penultimate chapter.

Chapter VI, entitled 'The Exploitation of Property', deals with the second main topic of the book. Here the social and economic relations that developed within the commanderies are explored. Of major importance in the text is Forey's analysis of the economic foundations and their management by the knights. This part offers an interesting study of the domains considered as a whole and gives comprehensive explanation of common processes, while relating them to the particular circumstances of the order and of the country. Also worthy of mention are the questions of the revenues raised by the Templars, their attitude towards the Muslim population and the problems of resettlement in certain places, which Forey associates with administrative inefficiency. The treatment given here to these economic or social issues is of great interest because they are subjects that are rarely examined in studies on military orders. On the other hand, those studies which look at commanderies, even if they pay more attention to these issues, do not put them into the context of the order's organisation, neither do they offer any comparison, unlike Forey.⁸

8. As a sample of Spanish historians' dedication to commanderies, see *Actes de les primeres jornades sobre els ordes religioso-militars als països catalans (segles XII-XIX)* (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1994). A list of books devoted to commanderies would be extensive.

These themes culminate in the last part of the book in which the order's organization is assessed. Here, the author reviews the political and social coordinates within which the order grew and concentrates on the idiosyncrasy of its administrative entities and their relationship to the Templars' international organization. The balance between these elements is connected to the earlier institutional history of military orders, not only the Temple's but also, more particularly, that of the order of Saint John, which focused on their internal organisation.⁹ In line with this development, Anthony Luttrell stands out for his research on the consequences of the international framework behind the organisation of a priory, specifically within the Crown of Aragon.¹⁰ These notable last chapters, in which the relations between the Aragonese knights and the convent are examined for the first time, have generated an improvement in our knowledge of this issue. In particular the few attempts at a global treatment of the order by Spanish historians have been clearly influenced by Forey's perspective. Therefore they have dedicated an important part of their publications to the administrative or institutional organization of the Aragonese or Catalan Templars.¹¹

In his professional career, Alan Forey was a lecturer at Magdalen College, Oxford, between 1959 and 1960, and at St. Andrews from 1960 to 1963, but most of his academic career was spent in Durham (1963-1996) where he taught a wide range of subjects in medieval history as lecturer, senior lecturer and reader. In 1996 he obtained the title of reader emeritus. At this time most of

9. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1050-1310* (London: Macmillan, 1967). The order of Saint John is the one which has received the most attention, within a long historiographical tradition. The works of Joseph Delaville le Roulx in the early twentieth century, with his *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100-1310)* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1904), and *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1913) were also an important advance in the field. This sound historical tradition is in contrast with the scant attention paid to the Temple, partly due to the serious loss of documentation, although since the early 1970s it has merited the attention of Malcolm Barber in 'The Origins of the Order of the Temple', *Studia Monastica*, 12 (1970), pp. 219-40, followed by his other works.

10. Anthony Luttrell, 'The Aragonese Crown and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1291-1350', *English Historical Review*, 76 (1961), pp. 1-19, or 'Aragoneses y catalanes en Rodas, 1350-1450', *VII Congreso de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1962), pp. 383-90, to quote early examples, which could be considered forerunners of later work.

11. The synthesis by María Luisa Ledesma, *Templarios y hospitalarios en el Reino de Aragón* (Zaragoza: Guara editorial, 1982) is very close to Forey's book in aspects such as the administrative organization or even in the titles of the chapters or sections, but not in the treatment. Josep Maria Sans i Travé, *Els templers catalans. De la rosa a la creu*, (Lleida: Pagès editors, 1996), pp. 106-227, also pays a great deal of attention to topics such as 'Organització interna de la comanda', 'El Convent i la comunitat' and 'La contribució ...comandes catalanes...a l'est'.

his teaching was at undergraduate level and some additional work in Master of Arts, although there was a scarcity of doctoral students. In particular, students with adequate knowledge of Latin and modern languages were few and he has explained that these circumstances resulted in his having few followers.

Functions, Activities and Organization in Military Orders

At this stage of his intellectual life he turned to the study of all military orders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, generally working with published sources. He has mentioned that he could only visit a few English archives because of his professional and family duties.¹² The main topics of his first book were taken up again and developed while working as a teacher. Forey concentrated on the idiosyncratic elements of Templar institutions, although his analyses were applied to almost all orders and could be considered his other great contribution to the field. In this second period of his research he investigated the activities concerned with the orders' military function, their international repercussions - as in Saint Thomas of Acre - but also their organisation as regular ecclesiastical institutions, their charitable activity, and ransoming of captives. Forey's more recent studies, which have taken the form of articles and books, have centred on these or other questions; however, he has always adopted a wide perspective by setting his object of study in its chronological, geographical or institutional context.

In several articles, Alan Forey has explained and revised the orders' military activity, where he has assessed what they brought to the Reconquista and to the crusader states. Also he has looked at whether they attacked Christians, thereby, perhaps abandoning their original purposes. Another area of study concerns the intellectual justification of the military activity, what in current terms would be regarded as 'propaganda', which he explores in the article 'The Emergence of the Military Order' (1985), among others. In these pages he dismisses the possible Muslim precedent to the orders' origins as some historians had maintained, finding them rather in contemporary Christian thought. This intellectual movement defined the kind of warfare that the military orders were to practise, citing the need to defend the Church and even recommending details of the knights' behaviour in conflict, such as preferring to give their own lives rather than killing their enemies.

12. Forey, *Teruel Paper*, p. 3.

Alan Forey's interest in showing the Hospitallers' early military orientation in his article, 'The Militarisation of the Hospital of St. John' (1984), is perhaps to be expected given his concern with the ideological and functional importance of military activity in the orders. His analysis equates the Hospitallers with the other orders in their founding stages and this approach has helped to overcome or at least minimize a certain noticeable tendency that still exists, which is to see the Hospital as different from the other orders. Clearly the fact that, unlike the others, the Order of Saint John has survived to the present day, although in a highly different manner, has influenced this tradition.

In his assessment of the functions developed by the knights of St. John in their early period, Forey compared activities in the Holy Land with those in the peninsula. In the same vein, another suggestive aspect of his work has been the interest invested and the success attained in putting the development of the Spanish military orders into their European context. Along these lines, Alan Forey has included the orders from the Crowns of Castille and Aragon in his general studies, to show how the history of the Peninsula intertwines with both European and Mediterranean processes. It is worth pointing out the importance of works like this which have helped to go beyond the platitude of Spanish uniqueness, or the tendency to treat Hispanic historical realities as independent from general processes. This historiographical trend could in part be explained by the international isolation of Spanish academics, which was particularly acute in the early years of the Franco regime.

Similarly, the author explores the parallels between the orders in their Crusade and Western territories and how their presence unfolded after the crusades, paying particular attention to specific cases such as the modest order of Mountjoy, which also established a domain in the Holy Land. The study of this Aragonese institution in 'The Order of Mountjoy' (1971) has recently been judged the 'definitive study of this militia, with its short and complex trajectory' by Carlos de Ayala, one of the foremost current experts on orders in Spain.¹³

Some issues related to the Spanish orders and military activity were studied in Forey's remarkable synthesis of 'The Military Orders and the Spanish Reconquest in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' (1984), an article in which he went over some problems already described in his 1973 book. This is one example of how the author takes up previous research in order to further

13. Carlos de Ayala, *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la Edad Media* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003), p. 103.

expound or enlarge a specific aspect of the topic from a wider perspective or in a more explanatory way. The article offers a major summary of the military activities of the orders in the Iberian Peninsula, comparing them in terms of functions, and of the royal patronage they received according to these functions. It also considers the extent to which they fulfilled their commitments particularly from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards. In these pages, the orders' military contribution to the so-called Reconquista is shown, as are their other military activities, a subject which was little known and underestimated by previous historians. Some of the activities considered were related to defensive warfare, while others dealt with the settlement process of considerable areas controlled by castles, or with the ransoming of captives. Moreover, castles belonging to the orders were centres from which some expeditions were sent out. In spite of these interventions, the contingents of knights were not exactly numerous, but they could offer stable garrisons that were of benefit to the king because they were available. This contrasted with the difficulty of having to gather together an army.

Forey's comprehensive synthesis gives a complete picture of the military activities in which the orders were involved, which accords with the current understanding of medieval war. This field has also developed a great deal in the last fifty years and the emphasis previously attributed to battles and epic events has greatly diminished. In 1956 Raymond Smail proposed that the strongholds were a key element in warfare in the age of the crusades and studied the composition of the armies concerned.¹⁴ In the aforementioned article all these military medieval realities are reflected in the activity of the orders.

Within the analysis of the development of the military aspect of these institutions, Forey examined their role in the ransoming of captives in 'The Military Orders and the Ransoming of Captives from Islam' (1991), an activity which was related to their charitable work. Once again he compared the orders in the practice of these duties, which were not always carried out by the Templars or Hospitallers. Their withdrawal from such activities had worse consequences in the Eastern than in the Western Mediterranean territories, where other institutions were involved in the liberation of the captives.

In his article 'Recruitment to the Military Orders' (1986), our author appraised the military requirements or activities which played a part in the re-

14. Raymond C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare 1097-1193* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956). There are more recent studies about warfare in the same period, as such as John France's *Western Warfare in the Age of the Crusades, 1000-1300* (London and New York: UCL Press, 1999).

cruitment process of the orders, describing them as less rigid than some other monastic institutions, at least during the two centuries in which they were most involved in warfare. In 'Novitiate and Instruction in the Military Orders' (1986) the issue of flexibility in the recruitment is also related to the question of the varying length of the novitiate period due to defeats and increased military demands, with the result that at one point it even disappeared in the Temple. During the last decades of the thirteenth century, the Templars and the Hospitallers had problems fulfilling their recruitment requirements, in common with some other Spanish institutions, as the article demonstrates. Forey also explains this as the result of financial and political changes, which have been explored in some of his other studies as well. This topic is linked to the transformation of military contingents at this time, and this question has also started to be taken up by current historiography. A better understanding of how armies were formed will, in turn, allow us to comprehend more fully developments in the orders in the last years of the thirteenth century when changes were evident.

In 'The Military Orders in the crusading proposals' (1980), he focused on the intellectual or mental changes that affected how the orders were perceived at the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth centuries. He also went on to describe the most well-known event of the period, the dissolution of the Temple, which was related to the profound transformations that affected all the orders. As Forey shows clearly, the defeat in the Holy Land brought about a wave of criticism that pointed to the faults of Christians, while the orders were accused of not fulfilling their obligations properly.

This approach to the medieval image of the orders shows that some writers had discussed what the role of the military orders should be in the struggle against the infidel. The crisis in the Holy Land had been explained in various ways, as the result of an overall lack of authority on crusading, or in part because of hostility between the military orders such as the Templars and the Hospitallers at the fall of Acre (1291). This situation was influential in a project to unite the two orders. At this time the crusading idea was also relaunched by writers such as Ramon Llull. However, these assertions were far from reality and they lacked practical proposals in response to the real difficulties faced in recovering the crusaders' Eastern states.

His interest in understanding the changes in the military function of the orders during the thirteenth century impelled him to further analysis in 'The Military Orders and Holy War against Christians in the Thirteenth Century' (1989), in which he examined the crusade ideology that justified it. In the eighties, Norman Housley made important progress in the study of the cru-

sades against Christians, but once again it was Alan Forey's contribution that most clearly distinguished the role of the orders in it.¹⁵ Plainly in the thirteenth century, the orders were involved in crusades against the Christians, both in the recently founded Latin Empire and in the Baltic against Christians or pagans sustained by them. However, the Papacy did not use the main orders against heretics, but rather fostered their part in the struggle between Christians. Indeed, new military societies, such as the *confraternitates*, began to form in Languedoc and Italy precisely because of the absence of interventions from the orders. Moreover, the efficacy of crusade preaching had diminished, the use of mercenaries was on the increase and the military orders were waging warfare mainly in financial terms. Forey's study of all these circumstances allowed him to conclude that the orders' main military activity was undoubtedly the fight against the infidels.

This last issue was taken up again in 'Military Orders and Secular Warfare' (1993), where the author broadened the study of the situations in which attacks against Christians were allowed, again comparing different territories such as the border regions of Western Christendom and the non-frontier areas. His work shows that the participation of the orders in this secular warfare was not important. In the Iberian Peninsula in particular, rulers sought to involve them in fights against Christian rivals, above all during the last decades of the thirteenth century, just after the end of the expansion or Reconquista. Forey pointed out that even under these conditions not all the orders were required to fight. For example, in Hungary an attempt was made to bring them into the struggle against pagans or schismatics and even Christians, but it did not succeed. With these examples, the author showed that the orders were especially prepared to fight against the enemies of the faith. As he puts it in his own words, 'the function of military orders was to engage in armed conflicts which were undertaken to defend and secure the interests of Western Christendom and of the Church'.

To some extent the ideological background of these institutions determined their trajectory, and in that sense they were not ordinary armies, but were devoted to holy war, as these studies reflect. At the same time, crusader ideology was changing, which might explain why the significant crusading vow of King Henry III was considered for the first time by a contemporary chronicler to be

15. Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades. The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), and 'Crusades against Christians: their Origins and Early Development, c. 1000-1261', in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter Edbury (Cardiff: University College of Cardiff Press, 1985), pp. 17-36.

the result of economic interest. Other arguments such as the king's desire to emulate Louis of France, or Henry's European policies were added by Alan Forey. His discussion of these issues, in 'The crusading vows of the English King Henry III' (1973), has contributed to the assessment of contemporary perceptions of the crusade question. In this terrain, he underlines the fact that during the thirteenth century the fight for the cross was a meritorious act, which could provide spiritual benefits, although the crusaders' vows were hardly ever fulfilled, at least in the Eastern crusader states. This was largely due to the lack of effective crusade preaching, as the author demonstrates.

Alan Forey has offered a complete overview of the sociology of the orders because he has analyzed all the levels of relationship within the institution, including, for example, women and novices, and accounts for the socio-economic context in which they developed. His study of the situation in the female communities in the orders is especially interesting, in that he shows their dependence on the male ones, even in economic terms. Furthermore, the orders controlled the number of foundations and also the number of members of the female communities more than they did the women's male counterparts. Despite these restrictions and the economic dependence of some of them, the survival of female communities within the orders could be related to the social function they fulfilled. The role of the widows of the Knights of Santiago or of the women from the high Aragonese nobility could be understood in these terms. The article 'Women and the Military Orders' (1987) was a forerunner in the analysis of the women in the Spanish orders, and it has since been followed up by various monographs on the subject of monasteries or orders such as that of Santiago.¹⁶

Except for the article published in 1993, these articles were collected in the volume *Military Orders and Crusades* published by Variorum (1994). This collection can be seen as the basis of his magnificent synthesis, *The Military Orders. From the Twelfth to the early Fourteenth Centuries* (1992). Forey looks at practically all the orders of this period and the areas into which they expanded, along the borders of Western Christendom, such as the Holy Land, the Iberian Peninsula and Central and Eastern Europe and also within Western Christendom. In spite of the importance given to the Temple and the Hospital,

16. See, for example, María Echániz, *Las mujeres de la orden militar de Santiago en la Edad Media* (Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1992), *El monasterio de Sancti Spiritus de Salamanca (1268-1500)* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1993) or Regina Sáinz de la Maza, *El monasterio de Sijena. Catálogo de documentos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, I (1208-1348)* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1994), *El monasterio de Sijena... (1348-1451)*, II (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998).

what makes the book even more interesting is the inclusion of a range of orders, such as the Hispanic orders of Calatrava, of Alcantara, of Santiago and of Avis, which were significant in terms of territorial or regional settlement too. The author also pays attention to orders that originated in the Holy Land, but which developed elsewhere, like the Teutonic Knights or the knights of Saint Thomas of Acre. Further consideration is given to orders of less importance, which were created with certain objectives in mind, such as Mountjoy, Alcalá or Sant Jordi d'Alfama in the Crown of Aragon, or the Swordbrethren and the Order of Dobrin, which emerged in the Baltic and Eastern Europe.

This comprehensive publication appeared to fill an important gap in historiography of military orders, as since Hans Prutz's *Die geistlichen Ritterorden* (1908) no other significant work had appeared, with the exception of Desmond Seward's fruitless attempt, *The Monks of the War* (1972) which does not deserve comparison with these two. However, since the eighties some important, general works on the subject have been published, such as those on the Teutonic Knights or the Temple.¹⁷

Forey's work covers fundamental aspects of these institutions as they are explained in five exhaustive chapters: 'Foundations and Locations', 'Military Activities', 'Resources and Manpower', 'Structures and Regulations', and 'Criticism and Change'. The book develops the use of comparative history as a fundamental tool for the study of military orders and also explains the basic character of their evolution from the twelfth to the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. The chapter headings reflect his ability to set out the essential issues in order to come to understand their *raison d'être* and development. Once more he attends to the importance of military activity as a functional element and also to the economic and ideological basis of the orders' power. Furthermore, he goes back to analyse aspects of the internal organisation of these institutions. The structure of this publication is very close in orientation to that of his first book. In short, this other book can be considered a model because it tackles all the orders within their social and political backgrounds.

All the same, Forey is not too concerned to make the relationship between these parts explicit, even though it is easy to appreciate that the economic or political circumstances and other elements are taken into account in the

17. Michael Burleigh, *Prussian Society and the German Order. An Aristocratic Corporation in Crisis c. 1410-1466* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); H. Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden: zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte* (Munich: Beck, 1981); Alain Demurger, *Vie et Mort de l'Ordre du Temple: 1118-1314* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1985); Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

specific analyses that he offers. It could be said that the author is not inclined to formulate a theory arising from these issues, even if he has identified the essential questions with which to comprehend the orders.¹⁸ He is always willing to look at the arguments that were used and views that were held about the order at that time. This gives his approach to the past solidity, because it is faithful to the sources. In this sense, and despite being a comprehensive work, it is, as always, supported by documented facts. Besides, he does not allow himself too much interpretative license, as we can see in his explanation of the order's large financial needs resulting from the requirements of the struggle against the infidel.

The orders' economies are without a doubt a main theme and he dedicates a chapter to how the patrimonial resources came into being, the characteristics of this patrimony, and the reasons for noble and royal patronage. Furthermore, some significant economic activities are analysed such as providing credit, all of which needs to be related to the important changes in these economies brought about by circumstances, such as the financial crisis at the end of the thirteenth century. This last issue shows that Forey is careful when dealing with changes that are fundamental to the understanding of history.

The specific functions of the orders, such as the military or charitable, and the availability of a vast patrimony contributed to the development of a complex administrative organisation, which is the subject of another chapter of this book. Here he explains the organization of the convents, the responsibility of the head of the convent, the different roles in the commanderies, and the meaning and uses of chapters. His account of the influence of the secular administration on the orders is also interesting, and he gives attention to the importance of the Cistercian tradition, as well as to the interference from secular powers, especially the monarchy. When he points out that the existence of ranks in the orders reflected those of society at large, the relationship between the orders and contemporary society is again clearly shown. This part closes with a study of conventual life.

In the last chapter the author returns to his interest in the ideas that emerged about the orders, and in particular criticism of their military duties not only in their early days but throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is related to the fact that not everybody accepted that warfare

18. Forey's scepticism about certain ways of explaining history that may force an understanding of the facts from a theoretical perspective is expressed clearly in the following quote from his *Teruel Paper*, 3: 'Nor have I much faith in any theory of history which seeks to give undue shape to the past.'

could be a worthy activity in any circumstances. Be that as it may, when their wealth was at its peak, disapproval appeared for other reasons and the members of these orders were accused of pride and avarice or rivalry with other orders. Forey's use of a variety of sources such as literature, letters or chronicles to study the issues related to the images that the orders projected is another methodological innovation that distinguishes his work. The original and interesting chapter about this area of his research is a forerunner to more recent studies devoted to the way that the orders were seen by society at the time, such as those by Helen Nicholson, who covers the principal institutions, or by Philippe Josserand, who examines their situation in the Crown of Castille.¹⁹

The book closes with the study entitled 'Changing Roles', which considers how the orders coped with new situations arising from the end of their military expansion. In the Peninsular regions they were involved in the internal politics of the Christian kingdoms and the relationships between Christian states. Furthermore, in orders like the Teutonic or the Hospital, a political reorientation and even some territorial expansion came about.

The great event of the time was the trial of Templars, to which the last part of the book is dedicated. As he shows, it was the defining episode in the transformations which the orders underwent and that these have their corollary in some contemporary criticism. The defeat in the Holy Land worsened the situation although, as the author demonstrates, this was not due to the orders' incompetence but rather to the impossibility of defending a region surrounded by Muslims without substantial Western assistance.

Approaching the Institutional Aspects of the Orders

Since the nineties Alan Forey has concentrated his efforts on publishing articles about institutional aspects of the orders, the way of life of their members, and their role in the crusades. He has also elaborated his explanation of their functions or commitments. Once again, his urge to complete this explanatory picture of his preferred topics has borne new fruit, yielding a more mature and complete picture of his chosen subject.

19. Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1995); Philippe Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la Péninsule Ibérique. Les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252-1369)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2004). Other basic issues in Forey's work are developed here centring on Castille.

As mentioned above, during this period there were a growing number studies and publications about military orders, and particularly on the Temple.²⁰ Institutional questions have been dealt with most, and in that sense Forey could be considered one of the forerunners of this burst of activity.²¹ However, some authors have focused on very specific questions, while others have attempted to deal with broad themes, with disappointing results. To some extent, even the type of study of the orders which has been most loyal to the positivist or empirical historical tradition, has too often ended up offering us just 'history in crumbs', a circumstance which has affected the well-known French school.

On the other hand, Forey's contribution over this period has continued to retain its virtues, by providing appropriate syntheses of interpretation, while remaining faithful to the source material. One example of this fidelity is his 'Rank and Authority' (1998), where he shows how the orders were structured at their centres and how the hierarchy of its members operated. He also deals with institutions such as provincial chapters or priors, as well as conflicts arising from specific circumstances such as quarrels between clerical and lay brethren, or from resistance to the power of the priory.

Other studies on this aspect of institutional life or on the inner workings of the orders have centred on the Temple. Thus, in 'Towards a Profile of the Templars' (1992) Forey uses trial records to tell us about the age range, the length of service and the mobility of the brothers. This study is particularly interesting as a source of information about the population of the time, specifically men of a certain social standing. One thing that draws our attention is the fact that the knights were predominantly middle-aged. But, if this surprises us, Forey's comment that 'it may be asked how contemporaries would have regarded them' reminds us to put this fact in perspective. This observation is typical of his way of doing history, as his starting point is always

20. See among others, the work of Alain Demurger, Malcolm Barber and Pierre-Vincent Claverie.

21. It is impossible to offer a comprehensive account, but by way of orientation the following names can be cited: Jürgen Sarnowsky, Jochen Burgdorf, Karl Borchardt, Theresa M. Vann, Zsolt Hunyadi, Helen Nicholson, Judith Bronstein, Luís García Guijarro, Jean-Marc Roger, Michel Miguët and, within the Peninsula territories, Carlos de Ayala, Maria Bonet, Carlos Barquero, Philippe Josserand, Paula Pinto, and Pierre Bonneaud. As to the influence of institutional themes, and questions of function and organization, dealt with by Forey, the evidence is clear when one considers publications on the orders during the 1990s such as the second volume of *The Military Orders. Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) which contains sections on Welfare, Warfare, Life Within the Military Orders, and Relations with the Outside World.

within the period, which is fundamental to the proper understanding of the phenomena and avoids falling too frequently into the trap of *presentismo*. This piece of work is also related to another article on 'Provisions for the Aged in Templar Commanderies' (2002) which dealt with the living conditions of Templar knights of advanced years. All elderly and infirm brothers received provisions, while some outsiders in the order's employ obtained corrodies, reflecting the social differences which lay even at the heart of the order.

Correspondence is one way to get close to the agents of history, and in 'Letters of the Last Two Templar Masters' (2001) our author studies and presents unpublished letters in order to evaluate the personal ties between masters and a number of brethren within Western provinces. Even though they are sometimes personal, one intuitively finds a range of interests at work in acceding to positions as a result of the patronage which the master could provide.

In his more recent work, Forey has once again taken up the analysis of the orders' functions, thereby completing an overview of a field whose dimensions he himself has laid out over the years. In 'The Military Orders and the Conversion of Muslims' (2002) he disagrees with the idea that the orders were charged with the conversion of Muslims, which some authors have defended. Indeed, Forey shows that not only did the knights not make any great efforts in this area, but that they ended up opposed to it, even to the extent of preventing voluntary conversions among their Muslim dependents or slaves. This is connected with both their economic interests and their perceptions of the nature of the Islamic society. In fact some of the orders, such as the Temple, were subject to criticism for obstructing conversions and displaying undue tolerance of Islamic religious practices, a fact which can be related to more general accusations levelled against them for being under excessive Islamic influence at the time.

The work also explains the development of the ideology which defended missionary work aimed at converting the infidel, as presented by Ramon Llull and Roger Bacon. It was the former who demanded the participation of the orders, recommending the use of force combined with preaching. In fact, Forey shows it was impracticable, given the modest intellectual level of the knights, which is also the subject of 'Literacy and Learning' (1998). What emerges is that the orders were never implicated in the work of conversion.

Forey's interest in explaining the activities of the orders led him to offer a complete picture of the charitable activities of the Templars, in a work of the same name, published in 2003. This article covers the obligations and practices of the Temple in relation to the charity work imposed in its Rule, which was

noticeably different from other orders, who focused on alms-giving, though this declined during the financial crisis at the end of the thirteenth century, as did affording protection to pilgrims in the Holy Land. All things considered, the Eastern orders' main economic efforts still concentrated on their main duty, which was warfare in the Holy Land.

As a result of the rise in interest in the orders, and partly in the crusades as well, especially since the nineties, some recognized authors who had previously led the research, have given up this line of work in order to produce works of synthesis. While these are both necessary and useful, their main aim is not innovation in terms of subject matter or approaches. Forey's modest contribution to this type of general work is his recent brief overview of the orders and their activities in Syria in the *Oxford History of the Crusades* (1999). However, he has never abandoned his vocation as a researcher, and in recent years has returned to doing archive work, something which is increasingly rare among historians with established reputations these days.

Such is the case in his recent return to considering the trial of the Templars, based on the study of unpublished documents from chancery registers and the correspondence of King Jaime II, to be found in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon. These are sources of monumental proportions, and are probably the most extensive ones available for the study of the relationship between the monarchy and the orders and their development. It is precisely due to Forey's opening up this area of research once again that there is a chapter on the Crown of Aragon in the *New Cambridge Medieval History*, published in the year 2000.

The Trial of the Temple in the Crown of Aragon

With the book *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (2001) Forey goes back to the subject with which he began his research career, thus completing the last part of his *opera prima*, considering that he had left it open and consequently offered more possibilities for further investigation. He had also described the beginnings of change in the functions of the orders in general at the end of the twelfth century, and in this work he develops the consequences of those changes at the start of the fourteenth century. Homing in on the Temple in Aragon, this study gives a detailed portrait of the order and the Aragonese Crown during the trial, shedding new light on a well-documented but not so well-known period.

Once again the author's mastery of his material allows him to explore and explain all the issues related to the trial of the Templars in the Crown of

Aragon. In doing so, he offers us one of the most complex and yet complete accounts of the subject, which is one that has received a great deal of attention in the historiography of the Temple, stretching back to Jules Michelet's study of 1841, and including various monographs over the twentieth century. Yet, despite all these efforts, none of them come close to rivalling Forey's work as a complete study of an institution within the framework of a medieval state. It is, without doubt, a definitive piece, as the following comment by Nikolas Jaspert indicates, when he says, 'further studies in Catalonia's rich local archives may furnish new findings, but these are likely to do little more than corroborate the results presented here'.²²

The work is divided into a number of substantial chapters, each more or less dealing with fundamental issues, such as the order's institutional and military history, and its diplomatic, political and economic relationships as well as the lives of the knights themselves. The structure of the book is similar to his other two, although it includes aspects which are either new, or at least dealt with at much greater length and in far more detail than elsewhere. Examples of this are his very thorough accounts of the military side of the sieges of the Templar castles and of the Aragonese monarchy, whose process of consolidation was in full swing during the reign of Jaime II, in its political, military, economic and administrative development during the trial period. Though both questions were related to subjects already studied by the author, here the analysis they receive is of a truly exceptional quality in its level of specificity, and is something that sets this work in a class of its own. Forey is captivated by his sources, he listens to them intently, and even lets himself be carried away with them, in the best sense of that expression. He works his history from the inside outwards, and his faithfulness to his texts really allows him to enter into the feel of the era, and get right under the skin of its people.

That is not to say that Forey merely describes things, but rather seeks to relate and explain problems, and for that reason to evaluate events occurring in the Crown of Aragon in comparison with other regions affected by the dissolution of the Temple. In doing so, he highlights certain interesting events that were unique to the area, such as the sieges of Templar castles in Aragon and Catalonia, which in turn witnessed the knights' powerful resistance, perhaps more determined here than in any other country. In relation to this question, the author also underlines the singular quality of the creation of, for

22. Nikolas Jaspert, 'The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon', *Speculum*, 78 (2003), p. 1289.

example, the Order of Montesa, which benefited from receiving part of the Temple's patrimony, instead of the patrimony passing in its entirety to the Order of the Hospital, as was originally expected, and as occurred in other regions. Initially, the king has not been particularly determined in his persecution of the Temple, and it is perhaps as a result of this that interrogations were not especially aggressive, and that after the trial, some members continued to live in Temple houses, or received pensions, even though in 1311 others were tortured and killed.

Without doubt, the chapter on the sieges, which lasted more than a year and a half, offers one of the most complete images of what warfare was really like in those times. The differences among the experiences of the besieged and the king's attempts at negotiation in order to avoid a final assault reflect the vicissitudes of the whole process. As is clear from this example, this book makes an unquestionably major contribution to our knowledge of how war was waged in the Crown of Aragon, and as such explores virtually new territory. Moreover, it is interesting, perhaps even surprising to note how the vassals of the order came out in defence of the brothers, and how beforehand prelates and nobles had voiced protests. In surveying these episodes of war, among the aspects that emerge clearly are the problems with supplies, the origins of the troops, the lack of economic resources to keep the sieges going, and how these were financed with money from Templar revenues.

The fourth chapter centres on Templar property under royal control between 1307 and 1319, and deals with the problems of appropriation which initially affected these properties and the king's pursuit of the recovery of Templar possessions in private hands. However, as the study shows, this was a slow process, and generally speaking, unlike other rulers, the king was scrupulous in the process of appropriation. The subsequent income was spent by the king on Templar affairs, such as covering the expense of the sieges of Templar castles, although it was also used to make payments of all kinds. This patrimony later became the object of some interesting negotiation as Forey shows in his chapter, 'The fate of Templar property'. Here is an excellent analysis of the political and diplomatic relations between the Avignon Papacy and the Aragonese monarchy, where the alternatives to the 1316 agreement are dealt with in depth.

In the final chapter of the book, entitled 'The Aragonese Templars after the Trial', the situation in which the trial left the Templars is discussed, and what emerges is that, despite all the experiences they had been through, they maintained their positions of privilege, whether in other regulated orders or through obtaining pensions.

Rethinking Issues

At certain points in Forey's career, the starting point of an analysis of a particular situation begins with the interpretations of events offered by previous authors, which he sets out to contradict, or at least to offer a better or more extensive explanation. Various of his contributions can be seen as a response to the need to clarify certain questions whose explanations had not been fully satisfactory, as is the case in 'Constitutional Conflict and Change in the Hospital' (1982). In this sense, Forey has on occasion offered alternative accounts of specific historical interpretations, reaching another conclusion on the basis of a re-reading of the sources. Thus, he contradicts Elena Lourie's interpretation of the strategic aims of King Alfonso *el Batallador's* will, and has defended the thesis that the monarch did indeed aspire to having his last testament carried out.²³ This case shows just how Forey tends to reject interpretations which are not clearly expressed in the documents, but rather developed from other types of analysis.

On other occasions, he has questioned certain interpretations which have their origins in the medieval period itself, and which modern historians have then taken up, as in his article 'The Failure of the Siege of Damascus' (1984). As the author shows, the accepted account tells how crusaders were betrayed by the Syrian Franks, when in reality he demonstrates what a difficult situation the Christian troops were in, and how this led to the military debacle. What is more, he connects the accusations of treachery against the Syrian Franks with the emergence of other attacks against certain individuals or groups such as the Templars.

His interest in the Second Crusade has also led him to dispute and so revise the interpretation of events by which the Second Crusade was fought on various fronts in addition to Syria, such as in the Iberian Peninsula – with fronts at Lisbon and Tortosa – and in other Western European theatres. This account was based on a medieval source, and then subsequently sustained by Giles Constable in the modern era. However, Forey answers it with a detailed analysis of these other fronts in 'The Second Crusade: Scope and Objectives' (1994).²⁴ He shows how the sources fail to provide a joint vision of the war,

23. Elena Lourie, 'The Will of Alfonso I "el Batallador", King of Aragon and Navarre: a Reassessment', in *Crusade and Colonisation: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Aragon*. Variorum Collected Studies (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1991), pp. 631-51.

24. Giles Constable, 'The Second Crusade as seen by Contemporaries', *Traditio*, 9 (1953), pp. 213-79.

and argues that ignorance 'must have led some to think of the crusade as merely an expedition to the East'.²⁵

By way of an epilogue, it is fitting to recognise Alan Forey's leading role in the renewal of the study of medieval orders, and especially of the Temple in the Crown of Aragon. These days, the Temple is the order whose history in this region has been most thoroughly explained, thanks precisely to Forey's great labours of research. This research highlights his ability to ask new questions, which combined with his very fine, sharp intellect, has allowed him to choose to pursue those questions whose answers are the key to the meaning of those institutions. He has managed to combine an insider's understanding of the order with a carefully developed external perspective, which allows him to get very close to the phenomenon and describe it as if seen by its own age. The truthfulness of a history constructed from the inside outwards, and vice-versa, is further deepened by recourse to comparative history and close attention to the causality of historical processes. In doing this, Alan Forey has enormously enriched and modernized the study of medieval orders, and has shown us a way of tackling history, which, without any theoretical pretensions, goes beyond mere method to become a most solid model of how we can go about understanding the past.

Chronology

- 1933. Alan Forey is born in Mitcham (Surrey), England.
- 1951-4. He studies in Wadham College (Oxford), obtaining first class honours in Modern History. At the end of his undergraduate studies he chooses to concentrate on Medieval History under the supervision of Peter Russell.
- 1957-9. He undertakes research in Spanish archives.
- 1959-60. He lectures at Magdalen College (Oxford).
- 1960-63. He teaches at St. Andrews.
- 1973. His doctoral thesis on the Templars in the Crown of Aragon is published.
- 1963-1996. He teaches Medieval History courses at Durham University as lecturer, senior lecturer and reader.
- 1992. He publishes *The Military Orders. From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*.
- 1996. He becomes reader emeritus in Durham.

25. 'The Second Crusade: Scope and Objectives', *Durham University Journal*, 86 (1994), p. 166.

2001. *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (2001) is published, after Forey researches archive material.

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C. S. Lewis (1898 – 1963)

Andrew Breeze

In May 2003, when the substance of what follows was first given as a lecture, newspapers were reporting a speech by Mr Charles Clarke, who at the time was British secretary of education. He had said, 'I don't mind there being some medievalists around for ornamental purposes, but there is no reason for the state to pay for them.' He added that he thought the British state should be paying only for subjects of 'clear usefulness'. With his comments in mind, we may look at the career of C. S. Lewis, one of the most famous and widely-read of all the medievalists in this volume.

A Successful Career at Oxford and Cambridge

Clive Staples Lewis was born in 1898 in Belfast and died in 1963 in Oxford. Apart from 1917-18, when he served with the British Army in France (and received a wound, from a shell fired by his own side, that left shrapnel in his lungs for the rest of his life), his career was outwardly uneventful. He graduated from Oxford in 1922; was a fellow of Magdalen College from 1925 to 1954; and from then until shortly before his death was Professor of Medieval and Renaissance English Literature at Cambridge University. Except for war service in France and a holiday in Greece in the 1960s, he never left the British Isles. Despite this curious lack of incident, he has been the subject of many biographies (that of 1990 by A. N. Wilson is perhaps the best) and even a Hollywood film (*Shadowlands*): the latter an honour surely unique amongst medievalists. (Is *Shadowlands* 'ornamental' or of 'clear usefulness'? Since it made money, presumably the latter.)

Lewis's Work on the Middle Ages and Beyond

This is not the place to discuss Lewis as a religious novelist and apologist (now the subject of a cult, especially in North America); a children's writer; a member of an Oxford literary circle that included J. R. R. Tolkien (a professional philologist whose books have also made successful films); or even as a brilliant teacher, many of whose pupils enjoyed successful academic careers.

Our concern here is his work on medieval literature and thought. The lion's share of this is found in five books: *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford, 1936); *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford, 1954); *Studies in Words* (Cambridge, 1960); *The Discarded Image: An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge, 1964); and *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge, 1966). It is here that we find him as an eloquent guide to and apologist for medieval ways of thinking. If we are to do his memory justice, we shall do so best by turning to and absorbing what he had to say in his books. Take, for example, his comment (at the beginning of *The Allegory of Love*) on what might be called the fallacy of literary progressivism.

Humanity does not pass through phases as a train passes through stations; being alive, it has the privilege of always moving yet never leaving anything behind. Whatever we have been, in some sort we are still. Neither the form nor the sentiment of this old poetry has passed away without leaving indelible traces on our minds. We shall understand our present, and perhaps even our future, the better if we can succeed, by an effort of the historical imagination, in reconstructing that long-lost state of mind for which the allegorical love poem was a natural mode of expression.¹

Or read him again in his famous first chapter 'New Learning and New Ignorance', where he champions medieval philosophy and expression against the attacks of the humanists. Once again, the enemy is progressivism, the view that change in literature, the arts, thought, and so on is nearly always good. Lewis here sounds a clarion call. In the battle of medievals and humanists, whose work has survived? Lewis's position is clear.

The medieval philosophy is still read as philosophy, the history as history, the songs as songs; the hymns are still in use. The 'barbarous' books have survived in the only sense that really matters: they are used as their authors meant them to be used. It would be hard to think of one single text in humanists' Latin, except the *Utopia*, of which we can say the same. Petrarch's Latin poetry, Politian, Buchanan, even sweet Sannazarus, even Erasmus himself, are hardly ever opened except for an historical purpose.²

Lewis maintains that the Latin of the humanists did not lead to new life, but to intellectual and linguistic petrefaction.

1. C.S. Lewis, *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), p. 1.

2. C.S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 20.

They succeeded in killing the Medieval Latin: but not in keeping alive the schoolroom severities of their restored Augustanism. Before they had ceased talking of a rebirth it became evident that they had really built a tomb. Fantastic pains and skills went to its building. Bembo's friend Longolius bound himself by oath to abstain not only from every word but from every number and case of a word that could not be found in Cicero.³

The same appears in their views on Medieval philosophers. Lewis quotes Vives on them as:

straw-splitters, makers of unnecessary difficulties, and, if you call their jargon Latin, why then we must find some other name for the speech of Cicero. 'The more filthy barbarisme they haue in their style (*si quam maxime barbare spurceque loquantur*), the greater theologians they doe account themselues', says Erasmus (*Moriae Encomium*; cf. also Letter 64). 'Calle ye Thomas Aquinas a doctor?' said Johan Wessel, 'He knew no tongue but the Latin and barely that!'

And Lewis goes on to say,

These are not the terms in which a new philosophy attacks an old one: they are, unmistakably, the terms in which at all times the merely literary man, the bellettrist, attacks philosophy itself. No humanist is now remembered as a philosopher. They jeer and do not refute. The schoolman advanced, and supported, propositions about things: the humanist replied that his words were inelegant.⁴

For another aspect of Lewis, we may read him in *The Discarded Image* on the thought-world of medieval people, on (for example) God's foreknowledge of events and human moral freedom as set out by Boethius.

Eternity is quite distinct from perpetuity, from mere endless continuance in time. Perpetuity is only the attainment of an endless series of moments, each lost as soon as it is attained. Eternity is the actual and timeless fruition of il-limitable life. Time, even endless time, is only an image, almost a parody, of that plenitude; a hopeless attempt to compensate for the transitoriness of its 'presents' by infinitely multiplying them. That is why Shakespeare's Lucrece calls it 'thou ceaseless lackey to eternity' (Rape, 967). And God is eternal, not perpetual. Strictly speaking, he never foresees; he simply sees. Your 'future' is only an area, and only for us a special area, of his infinite Now.⁵

Lewis concludes his summary by noting that Boethius's work ends with Philosophia thus speaking, without any return to Boethius in his prison cell;

3. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century*, 21

4. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century*, 29-30.

5. C.S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), p. 89.

an ending Lewis speaks of as a stroke of calculated and wholly successful art:

We are made to feel as if we had seen a heap of common materials so completely burnt up that there remains neither ash nor smoke nor even flame, only a quivering of invisible heat.⁶

After philosophy, astronomy. How best can we grasp the medieval view of the heavens? Lewis's answer is lucid, surprising, and humane.

The recipe for such realization is not the study of books. You must go out on a starry night and walk about for half an hour trying to see the sky in terms of the old cosmology. Remember that you now have an absolute Up and Down. The Earth is really the centre, really the lowest place; movement to it from whatever direction is downward movement. As a modern, you located the stars at a great distance. For distance you must now substitute that very special, and far less abstract, sort of distance which we call height; height, which speaks immediately to our muscles and nerves. The Medieval Model is vertiginous. And the fact that the height of the stars in the medieval astronomy is very small compared with their distance in the modern, will turn out not to have the kind of importance you anticipated. For thought and imagination, ten million miles and a thousand million are much the same. Both can be conceived (that is, we can do sums with both) and neither can be imagined; and the more imagination we have the better we shall know this. The really important difference is that the medieval universe, while unimaginably large, was also unambiguously finite.

He concludes:

Hence to look out on the night sky with modern eyes is like looking out over a sea that fades away into mist, or looking about one in a trackless forest: trees for ever and no horizon. To look up at the towering medieval universe is much more like looking at a great building. The 'space' of modern astronomy may arouse terror, or bewilderment, or vague reverie; the spheres of the old present us with an object in which the mind can rest, overwhelming in its greatness but satisfying in its harmony.⁷

And so down from heaven and those who exist there (the medieval cosmos, unlike the modern one, being an inhabited thing) to earth and its inhabitants, with fairies included on the way. The modern image of fairies is so corrupted by *Peter Pan* and the creations of Walt Disney that it is almost impossible for us to see them as our ancestors saw them, as creatures sharing the universe

6. Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, 90.

7. Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, 98-9.

with human beings, which might also be dangerous to know; a point Lewis makes tersely from the fate of a woman burnt at Edinburgh in 1576 for associating with fairies and their Queen.⁸ Scots law took the view that fairies were dangerous company and in no way innocent.

In short, perhaps enough has been done to show that reading Lewis is frequently an illuminating and enjoyable experience. Having made this point, we may go on to the next part of our discussion, on the making of Lewis as a scholar, on how he became so illuminating a guide to the medieval past. Here we turn to the various biographies and handbooks. What was there at Oxford in the 1920s that made Lewis the way he was? How can a time and place that some associate with *Brideshead Revisited* account for the learned expositor of medieval literature, language, and thought? And, secondly, how has his work been received, influencing the way we see our past and ourselves? If we can provide answers to those questions, we may be the more likely to produce another such scholar, great scholars being even rarer than great poets.

Lewis's background was conventional, provincial, and middle-class. Few regard Belfast as a beautiful city; the people of Ulster, where Lewis's father was a police-court solicitor (specializing in divorce cases), have more of a reputation for industry and practical sense than for interest in intellectual and artistic concepts. Why, then, such a part of the world should have more than its fair share of poets is amongst the mysteries of literature. Lewis was educated at Malvern College in Worcestershire, a school where he became familiar with the sound learning and the mindless sadism of most good English schools. After a year at Oxford, he then served in France during the final year of the First World War. After all that, one might have thought a poet's desire to understand the refinements of medieval philosophy and poetry would end up stone dead. Lewis might (after all that) have become a successful lawyer or businessman or administrator, of the kind who then ran the British Empire and ran it very well.

Why this was not so is perhaps explained by two things: the syllabus in arts at Oxford, and by the friends Lewis made there. If we see how these have been regarded by those writing on Lewis, we may understand how a great medievalist was made. Let us start with the earlier biographies of Lewis and then work through to the more recent material. R. L. Green and Walter Hooper here provide basic facts. Lewis took a double first in classics at Oxford, sitting for Mods in 1920 and Greats in 1922. Having decided on an academic

8. Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, 124.

career, he changed to the school of English, taking another first class in the final examination of 1923. With his reading of Old English poetry and of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, he encountered the middle ages, including its Christianity, which was to have permanent consequences for him. Then followed a year of tutoring and uncertainty. But in 1925 he became a Fellow in English at Magdalen College, a position he was to hold for nearly thirty years until he was appointed Professor of Medieval and Renaissance English at Cambridge. The Magdalen fellowship meant financial security, so that he could begin work on what, eleven years later, would be published as *The Allegory of Love*.

Lewis's School

What lessons does his work provide? Of these there seem two that are especially important. First is the principle of not patronizing the past, of automatically assuming (often in the teeth of the evidence) our own vast moral and intellectual superiority over the people of the past. Second, and allied to it, must be that interpretations of the past should arise from consideration of its own writings and other forms of expression, despite the inevitable crusts of prejudice which we all bring to it. If we can do this, we shall be able to think the thoughts of men and women long ago better than we already do, so that what we say of them will be more likely to last, when so much of our critical and even historical research is quickly forgotten (to say nothing of off-the-cuff remarks by politicians).

But another way of looking at Lewis is to see what his students said of him. Amongst them was Derek Brewer, later Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He said this, of tutorials in 1947 in Lewis's rooms at Magdalen.

He had a set of rooms in the middle of the handsome eighteenth-century New Buildings at Magdalen. The high-ceiling principal room faced north over the deer-park, and we met there in groups for Old English translation and occasionally for individual tutorials. A door led off to a bedroom, and another to a small inner room, with windows looking south to the rest of the College, where Lewis kept his books, and we often had tutorials. All the furniture was very shabby....

The general form of the tutorial was simple. First, after two or three minutes of general conversation, one read the essay. The reading of this, and the effort of composition were, if done seriously, the major part of a full week's work that included preparation of translation and attendance at lectures....

As I read the essay, he made notes. Many of these were minute points of verbal structure, rhythm, clarity, precision. In general Lewis had a Johnsonian literalism. He always claimed to be baffled by the phrase, too often applied to Chaucer, with tongue in cheek, and would put it to comic visual effect. Such literalism, both on this small scale, and more generally in his whole outlook, was a very important part of his criticism, his religion, and the Socratic *faux-naïveté* that he often used in argument....

One of his most notable characteristics as a man as well as a tutor was his generous acceptance of variety and difference, sure of his own standards but tolerant of others, and of failings. Add to this an almost inexhaustible interest in literature and ideas.⁹

With this we take the words of J. A. W. Bennett (1911-81), who succeeded Lewis in his Cambridge chair.

The regard he inspired in his pupils was happily illustrated on the night he inaugurated this professorship; when a platoon of them who had made the journey from Oxford could find no place to sit save on the dais, on which they ranged themselves like a sceldtruma or shield-wall resolved to defend their liege-lord. In fact, of course, he found here friends rather than adversaries, and friends who added happiness and solace to his last years. No man was ever more indifferent to status. But no man could have relished more the friendliness and the freedom that Cambridge accorded him. And assuredly he was not distressed to find here that the dinosaurian culture which he described so memorably in his opening lecture was not quite so moribund as he had suggested.¹⁰

Bennett went on to defend Lewis's values on learning and literature.

Hardly less certain is it that if the attitude to literature that he championed still has a potency of life in it, this is due to him and to his writings as much as to any other single cause. Unqualified, such a claim must seem insupportable, even absurd; he did not present the appearance of a world-weary Atlas upholding the too-vast orb of a dying culture. Still, one can scarcely ignore either his deliberate identification of himself with 'old western thought' or (witness his Riddell Lectures on *The Abolition of Man*) the seriousness of his concern for it, his sense of responsibility for the language that expresses it. Which makes it the more surprising that several critics (some with views and values not so very different from his as he, or they, supposed) have implied

9. Roger Lancelyn Green and Walter Hooper, *C. S. Lewis: A Biography*, 2nd edition (London: Collins, 2002), pp. 143, 145.

10. Green and Hooper, *C. S. Lewis: A Biography*, 285-6.

that his attitude was dilettante, frivolous, genteel: in a word, incurably Oxonian.¹¹

For students of the Middle Ages, Lewis thus remains as an inspiring and illuminating guide to literature and thought. Without his influence, it is difficult to imagine how we should now regard Boethius, Chaucer beyond *The Canterbury Tales*, or John Gower, to say nothing of sixteenth-century writers, above all Edmund Spenser. His authoritative (but humane) defence of medieval ways of writing, seeing, and thinking has permanent value. He brought to the forefront the compelling attractions of medieval poets and philosophers; he made it more difficult for the bigoted and the crass to wave away or dismiss a stupendous amount of accumulated cultural capital.

Chronology

- 1898. Clive Staples Lewis is born on 29 November in Belfast, Ireland.
- 1917. Enters University College, Oxford on 26 April to read Classics. He joins the Army on 8 June and arrives at the Front in France on 29 November.
- 1919. Returns to University College on 13 January.
- 1925. Elected to a fellowship in English at Magdalen College, Oxford.
- 1954. Elected to the Chair of Medieval and Renaissance English at Cambridge University and to a fellowship at Magdalene College, Cambridge.
- 1956. Marries Joy Davidman on 23 April at Oxford in a civil ceremony.
- 1960. His wife dies on 14 July in Oxford of cancer.
- 1963. C. S. Lewis dies on 22 November in Oxford.

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11. J. A. W. Bennett, *The Humane Medievalist: An Inaugural Lecture* (Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 2-3.

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Mercedes Gaibrois (1891 – 1960)

Ana del Campo

The historical essays and books written by Mercedes Gaibrois can be considered as a milestone in the Spanish Historiography of the 20th century. They are pioneer works in many aspects. For example, some of them focus on the biographies of relevant women from the past and are among the first historical studies about women in Spain. In addition, Gaibrois can be included in the first generation of female Spanish historians¹, of whom she was –undoubtedly- the most talented one.

Nevertheless, despite their importance, the books and articles of Gaibrois remain currently unstudied from the point of view of Historiography². Why was Mercedes Gaibrois consigned to oblivion? One possible answer for this question could be the ‘second Hour Zero’ that took place during the Spanish transition to democracy after the dictator Francisco Franco’s death. By the expression ‘second Hour Zero’³ the scholars who study the Spanish Historiography mean the absence of any kind of revision of the work of those historians who lived in Spain during the Francoist dictatorship. According to Ignacio Peiró, this lack of revision is twofold. On the one hand, liberal histo-

* I would like to express my gratitude to all the people who helped me in this research and in the writing of this article. First of all, the staff of the Spanish Royal Academy of History, who kindly provided me with quick access to all the documents I needed. Secondly, I would like to thank Professor Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, Lecturer Ignacio Peiró Martín, Lecturer María del Carmen García Herrero, Lecturer Nicolás Ávila Seoane, Laura Soriano Gómez, and last but not least, the Allendes from Madrid. Obviously, I am the only one to blame for the many mistakes that may come up in the reading of this paper.

1. Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, ‘Necrología de la Exma. Sra. Doña Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño de Ballesteros, condesa viuda de Beretta’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 146-1 (1960), pp. 8-9.

2. Ángela Muñoz Fernández, ‘Semper pacis amica’. La mediación como práctica política (siglos VI-XIV), *Arenal. Revista de Historia de las Mujeres*, 5-2 (July-December 1998), p. 274.

3. The ‘first Hour Zero’ is considered to take place right after the Spanish Civil War, when the fascist regime took over the government and intellectuals were forced to abandon the liberal tradition of thought. See: Ignacio Peiró Martín, ‘La aventura intelectual de los historiadores españoles’, in Ignacio Peiró Martín and Gonzalo Pasamar Alzuria, *Diccionario Akal de historiadores españoles contemporáneos 1840-1980* (Akal:Madrid, 2002), pp. 9-45 (p. 23).

rians simply ignore those colleagues who felt sympathy for the Francoist regime or who were suspects of collaborating with it. Thus, these historians who were sympathetic towards Fascism have not only been 'absent' from historiographical discussion but also 'non-existent' so far. On the other hand, conservative historians tend to avoid any discussion as well; they merely expose some biographical data and pay homage to those Francoist or collaborationist historians, leaving all critical comments apart⁴.

Taking all this into account, this paper humbly aims at contributing to the better understanding of Mercedes Gaibrois's work, hoping this great historian shall get the attention of Historiography soon. In order to do so, I will focus on one main source: the mass of documents that once belonged to Gaibrois (personal and professional correspondence, notes taken at different archives, awards, press articles, and so on). These documents are kept in the Royal Academy of History in Madrid. They now form a section called "Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros", which is only partially catalogued⁵. Her daughter, Mercedes Ballesteros, inherited them all, arranged them to a certain extent, and added some personal items to the collection⁶. Then, when her mother died, she bequeathed all these documents to her brother Manuel. Finally, Gaibrois's son generously donated all *her scientific documents, her files and the pieces of furniture where they were kept* to the Royal Academy of History in two different moments: on 26 October 1995 and on 26 March 1996⁷.

Family, Childhood and Education

Family exerted a deep influence on Mercedes Gaibrois. As it shall be seen briefly, her parents always encouraged her to learn Human Sciences, Literature and Arts. Her father, named José Trinidad Gaibrois, was the son of a Swiss

4. Ignacio Peiró Martín, 'Ausente no quiere decir inexistente: La responsabilidad en el pasado y en el presente de la historiografía española', *Alcores*, 1 (2006), pp. 9-26 (pp. 16-17).

5. From now on, the references made to the documents of this section will be offered as follows: Royal Academy of History [RAH], Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros.

6. Actually, Mercedes Ballesteros added some Gaibrois's identification cards, such as the one from the Royal Academy of History, the one from the Spanish National Library, another one from a congress, and her driving license. All these cards are kept in: RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/7: 'Recuerdos de mi madre, Mercedes Gaibrois'. In the same way, Mercedes Ballesteros included some identification cards from her father, Antonio Ballesteros, which are also kept in the same box.

7. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño.

doctor who emigrated to Colombia. José T. Gaibrois was interested in Historical Geography and literature. He continued the work of Alberto Urdaneta in the review *Papel Periódico Ilustrado* and, on 2 April 1889, he also founded the magazine *Colombia Ilustrada*, but unfortunately it was only published for one year. When he was young, José T. Gaibrois travelled to the United States of America, where he studied trade and learnt different languages. After finishing his education, he began to work as a diplomat. In 1890 he became Secretary of the Colombian Embassy in Madrid⁸.

Some important business compelled José T. Gaibrois to travel to Paris, where Mercedes was to be born on 18 September 1891. As she came into existence in the Embassy of Colombia in France and her parents were Colombian, Mercedes Gaibrois enjoyed Colombian nationality⁹. As a result of the constant trips of her father, Mercedes Gaibrois spent her childhood between Madrid and Bogotá, where the family owned a traditional ranch or *hacienda* called “El Castillo”. She would always consider this ranch as her true home and, as she declared many years afterwards, some of her most sweet memories were attached to that house¹⁰.

Her mother was Soledad Riaño, who belonged to one of the most reputed Creole families in Bogotá. In a newspaper interview, Solita –as everyone used to call her– recalled how enthusiastic Mercedes was about History, especially about Spanish Medieval History, when she was only a little girl. Mercedes Gaibrois knew many medieval poems by heart (especially those from the *Romancero*), being the *Historia general de España desde los tiempos primitivos hasta el reinado de Fernando VII*, written by Modesto Lafuente and published between 1850 and 1867, one of her favourite childhood and adolescence readings¹¹.

Her parents provided Mercedes Gaibrois with a very careful education but, instead of sending her to an elitist school, they decided to hire the services

8. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/12: article ‘Necrológica de José T. Gaibrois’, magazine *Hacaritama*, 168 (31 December 1950), p. 438-439.

9. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño.

10. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/14: ‘Nombramiento y recortes de prensa referentes al ingreso de Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros en la Real Academia de la Historia’, article ‘Una colombiana en la Academia de la Historia’, *El Tiempo*, 1947, p. 4.

11. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/14: ‘Nombramiento y recortes de prensa referentes al ingreso de D^a Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros en la Real Academia de la Historia’, article ‘Ante la primera académica: Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros’, *Diario de Madrid*, 25 February 1935, p. 4.

of the best teachers. Those teachers went to the house of the Gaibrois family to teach the young Mercedes. Among them, two people can be pointed out: Herminia Gómez Jaime de Abadía and Soledad Acosta de Samper, who were both History teachers. Probably, Mrs Gómez was the one who influenced Mercedes Gaibrois the most. Many years later, when Gaibrois began working as a historian in a professional way, Antonio Ballesteros used to say that the structure and the order shown by his wife at work was something Gaibrois owed to her first teacher, Mrs Gómez¹². As far as Mrs Acosta is concerned, many aspects can be outlined from her career. For example, Acosta was a renowned historian who was a corresponding fellow of the Venezuela's Academy of History, honorary member of the Association of Writers and Artists of Madrid and also honorary member of the Geographic Society of Bern; one of her most important books was *Historia de Colombia* (1908).

Apart from History, Mercedes Gaibrois received an excellent instruction in Arts. She showed great talent in drawing and painting. Gaibrois soon began to attend the Academy of Arts, in Bogotá, where she obtained an award¹³.

Move to Spain and Marriage to Antonio Ballesteros Beretta

However, the quiet years of childhood and adolescence ended dramatically when her father died. From that moment on both mother and child were to face life by themselves. In 1908, when Mercedes Gaibrois was only sixteen years old, she and Mrs Soledad Riaño travelled to Andalusia, the Southern region of Spain, to solve some business related to the inheritance of the deceased Mr Gaibrois. But what was supposed to be a six-month stay became a non-return trip. The inheritance dispute turned into a lawsuit and Soledad Riaño and Mercedes Gaibrois were forced to stay in Spain during the whole judicial process, which seemed to last forever¹⁴.

Luckily, the inheritance problems did not prevent Gaibrois and her mother from enjoying themselves. During the annual festival that takes place every April in Seville, Mercedes Gaibrois casually met her husband-to-be, Antonio Ballesteros, as she was riding on a cart pulled by horses. He could not help looking at her and they began a casual chat. Nothing serious happened then

12. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois, box 9/9160, envelope: 3/14: 'Nombramiento y recortes de prensa referentes al ingreso de Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros en la Real Academia de la Historia', article 'Una colombiana en la Academia de la Historia', *El Tiempo*, 1947, Bogotá, p. 4

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid.

but, just by coincidence, Ballesteros went to the hotel where Gaibrois was lodging. He was looking for a History Professor who was also staying there. As they saw each other again, they resumed their conversation. Afterwards, Ballesteros insisted on introducing Gaibrois to another History Professor. Aware of Gaibrois's interest in History, Ballesteros found here the perfect excuse to see her once again. This was the way they began a relationship that ended in marriage. Mercedes Gaibrois would comment on this and about her life in general: 'I have never known whether History led me to love or whether it was love that led me to History'¹⁵.

By the time they met, Ballesteros was already a professor at the University of Seville. He was born in Rome in 1880. His mother was Maria Beretta Mirasole, countess of Beretta, daughter of the count Antonio Beretta and the countess Matilde Beretta Mirasole. His father was Antonio Ballesteros y Cantín, a noble Spanish diplomat who was working in the Embassy of Spain in Rome. Antonio Ballesteros Beretta had studied Law and History at university and, although he became a judge, he quickly abandoned this post and concentrated on History. As mentioned above, he gained the professorship in Modern and Contemporary History at the University of Seville in 1906. Later on, Ballesteros became Professor of Ancient and Medieval History at the Central University of Madrid in 1912¹⁶.

Antonio Ballesteros and Mercedes Gaibrois were married in 1910 and they had two children. The first was Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, who was born in Seville in 1911. He continued with the family tradition and became a well-known university Professor who specialized in American History and Anthropology. Like his parents, Manuel Ballesteros entered the Royal Academy of History¹⁷. Their second child was Mercedes Ballesteros Gaibrois, who was born in Madrid in 1914. She was a famous writer and journalist who worked for many newspapers, such as *Ya* and *ABC*¹⁸.

Travels and First Essays

Thanks to some articles written by Manuel Ballesteros, we know a few details about Gaibrois's life after she was married. Her son relates that both

15. Ibid.

16. Peiró and Pasamar, *Diccionario*, see 'Ballesteros Beretta, Antonio', pp. 101-103.

17. For further information about Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, have a look at: Peiró and Pasamar, *Diccionario*, see 'Ballesteros Gaibrois, Manuel', p. 103-105.

18. Peiró and Pasamar, *Diccionario*, see 'Gaibrois de Ballesteros, Mercedes', p. 267.

his father and mother used to work together, that is, Prof. Ballesteros introduced Gaibrois to historical research. Some other scholars like Ramón Menéndez Pidal and the Marquis of Lozoya described how concentrated this couple used to work in different archives around the Iberian Peninsula¹⁹. At the beginning, they travelled by train to the cities where those archives were located, but at least from the 1930s they bought a car –a small Fiat, exactly that was driven only by Mercedes Gaibrois, because her husband was never keen on driving²⁰. She must have been one of the few women that owned a driving license in Spain in those years. Those trips in search of unpublished documents took Ballesteros and Gaibrois to Barcelona, Segovia, Seville, Toledo, Salamanca, Pamplona, Valladolid, and countless villages all over Spain.

From 1921 to 1929, the whole Ballesteros family spent most of their summer periods travelling up and down Europe. They visited more than thirty Italian cities, including Rome, where the countess of Beretta lived, but they also visited some German towns. For instance, they travelled to Munich, where the couple studied at the Staatsbibliothek, or to Berlin, where they researched in the archives. In both cities Ballesteros and Gaibrois were helped by two disciples of Ballesteros, Ph. D. Ulla Deibel and Prof. Richard Konetzke, respectively. They also spent two entire summers in Freiburg, where they had the opportunity to discuss some concepts of History and method with Heinrich Finke, the great German historian who published *Acta Aragonensia*. As a result of these summer meetings, Mercedes Gaibrois wrote in 1924 an article entitled 'Roma después de la muerte de Bonifacio VIII', which was commented by Finke²¹. The family also travelled to Vienna. Gaibrois wished to visit this city because she was looking for the correspondence of Queen Mary of Hungary with her brother the King of Spain, which she finally found at the Imperial Archives in the Minoritten Platz. Ballesteros and Gaibrois also

19. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, 'Homenaje a don Antonio Ballesteros Beretta' (previously published in *ABC*, 24 July 1949), *Revista de Indias*, 42 (October-December 1950), pp. 703-704. Juan de Contreras, Marquis of Lozoya, 'Ballesteros y la actual generación de historiadores' (previously published in *Saitabi*, 30, July-December 1949), *Revista de Indias*, 42 (October-December 1950), pp. 703-706.

20. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/7: 'Recuerdos de mi madre, Mercedes Gaibrois'.

21. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, 'Roma después de la muerte de Bonifacio VIII (Un informe de 1305 comunicado por Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, anotado y comentado por el Prof. Heinrich Finke)', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 84-1 (1924), pp. 351-356.

travelled to Paris, where the famous Romanian historian Constantin Marinescu lived and with whom they worked in cooperation²².

This way, trip after trip, document after document, Prof. Ballesteros noticed what a good historian his wife was. Consequently, he encouraged her –or even “forced her”, because Gaibrois might have felt initially reluctant- to work on her own and to publish some essays by herself²³. The first of her works to appear was ‘Guzmán el Bueno y Juan Mathé de Luna en la defensa de Tarifa (1294)’²⁴, published in the review *Raza Española* in 1919 and which was a summary of the more extensive article ‘Tarifa y la política de Sancho IV de Castilla’ that came out in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* in 1919 and 1920²⁵.

We may wonder now why she chose this topic to begin her professional career. On the one hand, it can be thought that Gaibrois tried to continue the work of her husband, Antonio Ballesteros, who had written a massive history of the reign of Alfonso X of Castile (d. 1284). Studying the reign of his successor, Sancho IV (d. 1295), would have seemed a good and suitable option then. But apart from these more or less logical reasons, there is a funny fact to take into account: the apartment where Prof. Ballesteros and Mrs Gaibrois lived at that time was situated in Guzmán el Bueno Street, in Madrid²⁶. If I am not mistaken, the curious mind of Gaibrois could have felt the need of knowing more about this man and, as a result of her interest, her first article came into light.

Apart from these two professional papers, Gaibrois published six other qualified articles in the magazine *Voluntad* between the years 1919 and 1920.

22. Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, ‘Antonio Ballesteros Beretta en el recuerdo familiar’, *Revista de Indias*, 163-164 (January-June 1981), p. 298. Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, ‘Autobiografía’, *Anthropos. Revista de documentación científica de la cultura*, 162-163 (November-December 1994), p. 18.

23. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois, box 9/9160, envelope: 3/14: ‘Nombramiento y recortes de prensa referentes al ingreso de Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros en la Real Academia de la Historia’, article ‘Una colombiana en la Academia de la Historia’, *El Tiempo*, 1947, Bogotá, p. 4.

24. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, ‘Guzmán el Bueno y Juan Mathé de Luna en la defensa de Tarifa’, *Raza española. Revista de España y América*, 3 (March 1919), pp. 3-14.

25. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, ‘Tarifa y la política de Sancho IV de Castilla’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 74-5 (1919), pp. 418-436; 74-6 (1919), pp. 521-529; 75-2/4 (1919), pp. 349-355; 76-1 (1920), pp. 53-77; 76-2 (1920), pp. 123-169; and 77-2/4 (1920), pp. 192-215.

26. Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, ‘Maestros del americanismo. Antonio Ballesteros Beretta (1880-1949)’, *Quinto centenario*, 3 (1982), p. 4.

This magazine was directed to a female audience with no particular knowledge of History and, due to this, the papers presented here by Gaibrois tried to bring some significant women of the past closer to the readers. These articles can be considered almost as a hobby for Gaibrois, but they would have important consequences in the future, as we shall see later on. These were brief papers that were accompanied sometimes by illustrations drawn by Gaibrois herself, who could show her artistic talent this way.

Important Works; Membership in the Royal Academy Of History; War and Francoist Dictatorship

The two articles published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* about 'Tarifa y la política de Sancho IV de Castilla' indicated what Mercedes Gaibrois was working on at that moment: she was preparing her impressive *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*, which tackled the government of this Castilian King and the circumstances that surrounded it. This work was critically acclaimed and was given the Duke of Alba Award in 1920²⁷. Gaibrois received this award in a solemn ceremony on 17 April 1921. In 1922 and 1928 this work was published in three volumes²⁸.

The tradition established that those historians who had obtained the Duke of Alba Award, as Gaibrois did, were supposed to be elected as ordinary academicians of the Royal Academy of History²⁹. Nonetheless, this custom was broken in the case of Gaibrois. Elías Tormo y Monzó, Manuel Gómez Moreno and Gabriel Maura y Gamazo proposed her as an academician in 1922, but the censor of the Academy forbade the voting. Although this point is not completely clear, it seems Gaibrois was vetoed because she was a woman. At least, this is what Soledad Riaño, Gaibrois's mother, declared³⁰. But perhaps there are other reasons that could explain the veto. In Gaibrois's obituary, Francisco

27. Adolfo Bonilla, Count of Cedillo and G. Maura, 'Premio del señor Duque de Alba en el concurso abierto por la Real Academia de la Historia para 1920. Informe oficial', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 77-1 (1920), pp. 5-12. The jury pointed out how Mercedes Gaibrois *extrae el jugo del voluminoso cuerpo documental, diluyéndolo en veinte breves capítulos, con elegante amenidad narrativa y estilo tan sobrio y sencillo como correcto* (see: *ibid.*, p. 12).

28. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*, (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1922), I; Gaibrois, *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*, 1928, II & III.

29. Peiró and Pasamar, *Diccionario*, see 'Gaibrois de Ballesteros, Mercedes', p. 267.

30. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/14: 'Nombramiento y recortes de prensa referentes al ingreso de Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros

Javier Sánchez Cantón indicates that the act of giving Gaibrois the Duke of Alba Award originated some malicious comments that suggested Antonio Ballesteros had something to do with the prize obtained by his wife³¹.

Fortunately, Mercedes Gaibrois's work spoke for her and the controversy was forgotten. After ten years, Gaibrois was proposed again for becoming a member of the Royal Academy of History. On 13 December 1932, the highly renowned professors Elías Tormo y Monzó, Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Rafael Altamira y Crevea provided the Academy with a report about Gaibrois's merits and they officially proposed her as a candidate in the session that took place on 16 December 1932³². Finally, Gaibrois was elected unanimously as ordinary academician on 23 December 1932³³. This election marked the beginning of a new era, because the Royal Academy of History was a male institution until that moment. This way, Mercedes Gaibrois was the first woman elected as an academician, not only in the Academy of History, but in any Spanish academy as well³⁴.

Gaibrois had to wait for more than a year for the inauguration, though. The ceremony was celebrated on Sunday 24 February 1935 in the Royal Academy of History. The session was opened by the Director, who asked Alfonso Pardo y Manuel de Villena and Agustín Millares Carlo to welcome the new academician on the stage. It was then the turn of Mercedes Gaibrois, who gave a speech entitled *Un episodio de la vida de María de Molina*. The paper carefully analysed the events related to this Castilian Queen between 1300 and 1302³⁵. This speech anticipated what was to come the following year:

en la Real Academia de la Historia', article 'Ante la primera académica: Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros', *Diario de Madrid*, 25 February 1935, p. 4.

31. Sánchez, 'Necrología', p. 9.

32. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño, document number 2: 'Informe de proposición como numeraria'.

33. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño, document number 1: 'Elección como académica numeraria'.

34. On this issue, see as an example the article written by Concha Espina in 1955. There, this Spanish writer complained that the Royal Academy of Language of Spain forbade the entrance of women as academicians. Concha Espina suggested following the example of the Royal Academy of History, where Mercedes Gaibrois had been elected as one of its members. However, the author affirmed she would have preferred Blanca de los Ríos to be the first woman elected as an academician of the Royal Academy of History instead of Gaibrois. See the article at: RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, document number 64: Concha Espina, 'Reales Academias Españolas y Reales Mujeres de España', *Arriba*, 20 March 1955, p. 25.

35. *Un episodio de la vida de María de Molina. Discurso leído en la Academia de la Historia el 24 de febrero de 1935, en la recepción pública de doña Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño de Ballesteros.*

the book *María de Molina*, which was republished again in 1967, slightly modified and entitled *María de Molina, tres veces reina*³⁶. Apart from this, the new academician began her intervention remembering the two men that had occupied her chair before, Manuel Serrano y Sanz and Pedro Novo y Colson. Once Gaibrois finished her speech, Prof. Elías Tormo went up on the stage and delivered another speech. He welcomed Gaibrois into the Academy and pointed out her meticulous work. Tormo praised her book *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla* and qualified it as 'the work', that is, he meant that the book reached the top of academic excellence. In the end, Tormo compared Antonio Ballesteros and Mercedes Gaibrois to Pierre and Marie Curie. The inauguration ceremony ended when the Director gave the medal of the Academy to Gaibrois and she was given her chair among her colleagues³⁷.

In spite of these happy events, Gaibrois's life –as well as all Spaniards'– was going to change brutally in the months to come. When the Spanish Civil War began, Gaibrois quickly understood her family was in danger. Antonio Ballesteros was a well-known conservative who had participated actively in politics and had been the tutor of the young princes of Spain³⁸. Taking all this into account, Gaibrois convinced him that the whole family should leave their house and seek refuge in the Embassy of Mexico. They stayed in the Embassy for a few months until they moved to Burgos in March 1937. At the end of the war Ballesteros and Gaibrois returned to Madrid, but their house had been bombed and their magnificent library had disappeared. Thankfully, the staff of the National Library of Spain had transferred most of the books to this

Contestación del Excmo. Señor Don Elías Tormo y Monzó, Talleres Espasa-Calpe, Madrid, 1935. See also: RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/14: 'Nombramiento y recortes de prensa referentes al ingreso de Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros en la Real Academia de la Historia', article 'Recepción de doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros en la Real Academia de la Historia', *El Sol*, 26 February 1935, p. 4.

36. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *María de Molina* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1936) and Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *María de Molina, tres veces reina* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1967).

37. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño, document number 10: 'Ceremonial para la junta pública de recepción del electo'.

38. The princes kept in touch with Antonio Ballesteros, especially the Prince Juan de Borbón, Count of Barcelona. For example, in 1941 the Count of Barcelona and his wife wrote back to Antonio Ballesteros and Mercedes Gaibrois to thank them for their letter of congratulation on the birth of their child Alfonso de Borbón. See: RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/81761, envelope 4/5: 'Correspondencia de los años 1936, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941 y 1942', letter from the Count of Barcelona (Rome, October 1941).

institution and there they were kept during the war. Being the librarian of the Royal Academy of History, Ballesteros had the right to live in an apartment located within the Academy's building. Ballesteros and Gaibrois needed a new home, so they moved there³⁹.

The fascist regime established after the war immediately started a process of cultural repression among high school teachers, university professors, and intellectuals in general⁴⁰. Many of those who did not agree with the ruling ideology were forced to go into exile. Others preferred to stay in Spain, maybe because they sympathized with the Francoist dictatorship, or perhaps they considered the new regime the better of two evils. Those intellectuals who remained in Spain were obliged to swear loyalty to the fascist regime, whatever their political leanings. In the case of Gaibrois, she took this oath of fidelity on 6 January 1938, but it was not until 7 February 1940 that she was rehabilitated⁴¹.

Going back to normal was something tremendously difficult at that time, when the war was just over and the vast majority of people had a hard time meeting their most basic needs. In albeit circumstances, Mercedes Gaibrois was determined to improve culture. She decided to organize a social gathering, similar to those Paris salons that people attended in order to talk about literature, art, or any other cultural expression. This way, from 1940 onwards Gaibrois acted as a host in her apartment in the Royal Academy of History once a fortnight. Her guests were diplomats, writers, painters, humorists, bullfighting-critics, historians, and so on.

These social gatherings, however, were not enough for Mercedes Gaibrois, so she quickly planned to publish a review that could collect the conversations

39. Ballesteros, 'Maestros del americanismo', p. 5.

40. Gonzalo Pasamar, *La Historia Contemporánea. Aspectos teóricos e historiográficos*, Madrid, Editorial Síntesis, 2000, p. 223. Juan Antonio García Fraile and Inmaculada Masera Virosta, 'Algunas reflexiones en torno al proceso de depuración del profesorado universitario tras la Guerra Civil', in *La Universidad en el siglo XX (España e Iberoamérica). X Coloquio de Historia de la Educación*, (Murcia: Sociedad de Historia de la Educación, 1998) pp. 515-521. For further information on this issue, see: Gonzalo Pasamar Alzuria, *Historiografía e ideología en la postguerra española: La ruptura de la tradición liberal* (Zaragoza, Universidad de Zaragoza, 1991); Miquel A. Marín Gelabert, *Los historiadores españoles en el franquismo, 1948-1975* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza and Institución Fernando el Católico, 2005); Jaume Claret Miranda, *El atroz desmoche. La destrucción de la universidad española por el franquismo, 1936-1945* (Barcelona: Critica, 2006).

41. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño, document number 11: 'Rehabilitación como académica numeraria'.

held in the salon. Moreover, the review was thought to bring out the little pieces of news that historians find in the archives, but that are too insignificant or extravagant to be mentioned in a professional essay. Thus, the review pages were full of any kind of curious information from all historical eras. The brief articles that composed the review were also full of sense of humour. The review title was *Correo erudito. Gaceta de las Letras y de las Artes*. Along the thirty-nine numbers of this review (published between 1940 and 1958, with many interruptions, though), Mercedes Gaibrois wrote sixty brief papers whose extension varied from three lines to four pages⁴².

During the 1940s Ballesteros and Gaibrois used to spend the summertime in Pamplona, researching in the archives of the ancient kingdom of Navarre. More specifically, Gaibrois was preparing two new essays about Enrique III 'el Doliente' of Castille and Carlos III 'el Noble' of Navarre⁴³. Unfortunately, these works were never finished nor published. The couple rented an apartment in Pamplona and there they stayed during the summer months. However, Antonio Ballesteros was to die in this apartment on 15 July 1949⁴⁴. He was very ill and the surgery he underwent only served to confirm the worst diagnosis⁴⁵.

From the moment she became a widow, Gaibrois occupied the post of librarian in the Royal Academy of History that had previously belonged to her husband. Provisionally, Gaibrois was appointed as librarian on 17 October 1949, but she was given the post officially on 9 December 1949⁴⁶.

42. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/14: 'Nombramiento y recortes de prensa referentes al ingreso de Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros en la Real Academia de la Historia', article 'Una colombiana en la Academia de la Historia', *El Tiempo*, 1947, p. 4. Sánchez Cantón, 'Necrología', pp. 12-13 (the complete list of Mercedes Gaibrois's contributions for *Correo Erudito* can be found at the end of this article; see pp. 17-18).

43. Sánchez, 'Necrología', p. 13. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño, document number 56: 'Pleito'.

44. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/8: 'Recuerdos de la generación de mis abuelos', recordatorio fúnebre de Antonio Ballesteros Beretta.

45. Ballesteros, 'Maestros del americanismo', p. 5. César González-Ruano, 'Antonio Ballesteros' (previously published in *Solidaridad Nacional*, Barcelona), *Revista de Indias*, 42 (October-December 1950), pp. 709-710. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño, document number 16: 'Pésames por la muerte de D. Antonio Ballesteros Beretta'.

46. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño, documents number 15 and 19: 'Nombramiento como bibliotecaria interina de la Real Academia de la Historia' and 'Nombramiento como bibliotecaria perpetua de la Real Academia de la Historia', respectively.

The tragic death of her husband disturbed her spirit considerably, but her enthusiasm for History did not diminish. On the contrary, Gaibrois's interest in contacting other historians and discussing ideas with them stayed the same or even increased. Thus, Gaibrois understood the Royal Academy of History to be the perfect forum for the exchange of ideas among historians. This is the reason why she always proposed brilliant historians, regardless of their political ideology, as candidates for academicians. And this was not a minor thing in Spain during the Francoist dictatorship. Gaibrois's proposals could even be considered as small challenges to the regime.

Some of these proposals for academicians made by Gaibrois can be traced in her private correspondence. Right after Ballesteros's death, Mercedes Gaibrois, Agustín González de Amezúa and Emilio García Gómez proposed Father Ángel Custodio Vega, an Augustine friar, as a candidate for ordinary academicians of the Royal Academy of History. Father Vega wrote a letter to Gaibrois to thank her for his candidacy to the chair of Prof. Ballesteros⁴⁷. Presenting Father Vega as a candidate did not generate any problems with the authorities, but the offer Gaibrois made to Américo Castro would have caused alarm, had this great Spanish philologist and historian accepted. On 1 January 1952 Américo Castro, who was exiled in the United States, wrote back to Mercedes Gaibrois. From his house at Princeton, Castro thanked Gaibrois for her offer to cooperate with her and other colleagues from the Royal Academy of History. Nevertheless, Castro refused and explained his reasons: he felt uncomfortable about becoming more and more visible in a country (Spain) where his books were considered to be shameful. Castro proclaimed: 'I chose freedom', because he went into exile so as to think and write without suffering any kind of censorship⁴⁸.

A few years later, when they met at the International Congress of Historical Sciences that took place in Rome in 1955, Mercedes Gaibrois offered Father Miguel Batllori the possibility of becoming a member of the Royal Academy

47. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8161, envelope 4/7: 'Correspondencia del año 1949'.

48. The exact words of Américo Castro were: *Le agradezco mucho su gentil invitación a colaborar con Vds., lo mismo que agradecí otras de amigos de abí. Háganse cargo, sin embargo, de la imposibilidad de hacerme presente en lugares donde mis libros circulan como si fueran algo vergonzante. 'I chose freedom'; por eso puedo pensar y escribir sobre lo humano y lo divino sin que nadie me fastidie. Esperemos que todos tengamos salud –es lo primordial–, en el año incipiente, y que este país [that is, the USA] consiga atajar un poco el peligro de la tiranía universal; see: RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8158, envelope 1/6: 'Cartas de eruditos con notas', letter sent by Américo Castro from Princeton on 1 January 1952.*

of History. The answer of Batllori was similar to Castro's. In this case, Batllori refused the idea of becoming an ordinary academician, because that involved living in Madrid. Gaibrois had suggested Batllori could plead he was living in the house of his order –the Society of Jesus– in Madrid, although that would not be true, as Batllori would continue to live in Italy. But Gaibrois had already foreseen Batllori's refusal and had insinuated that he could become not an ordinary academician, but a correspondent one. In a letter sent in July 1956, Batllori finally admitted he would accept being appointed as a correspondent member of the Academy⁴⁹. At the end of the same year, Batllori wrote another letter to Gaibrois in which he insisted on refusing his candidacy for ordinary academician; at least, Batllori showed interest in cooperating with the Academy overseas⁵⁰.

Finally, Gaibrois thought of presenting Marcel Bataillon, a reputed French philologist from the Collège de France, as a candidate for corresponding fellow of the Royal Academy of History. But before beginning the paperwork, Gaibrois wrote to Bataillon to ask his opinion. The answer was quite ambivalent. On the one hand, Bataillon seemed reticent about it, mostly because being an academician involved direct contact with the fascist authorities in Spain. On the other hand, the French scholar looked as if he might be tempted to accept. He thought Gaibrois would not have suggested it if certain political ideas were necessary to become an academician⁵¹.

49. The letter Batllori sent to Gaibrois is highly interesting. Here it is a brief excerpt from it: Batllori recalls the conversation he maintained with Gaibrois in Rome, when she let him know he was one of the possible candidates for academician, and he confesses he got afraid of it: *me alarmé, temía que hubiera sido un acto de reconocimiento de Sainz Rodríguez o Marañón, que sabía habían recibido con complacencia mi invitación a colaborar en el número extraordinario que 'Archivium'* [that is, the review *Archivium Historicum Societatis Iesu*] *ha dedicado este año a San Ignacio [...]. Luego supe que no era así, y me tranquilicé*. Later on, Batllori adds: *sólo podría aceptar el nombramiento en el caso de que se hallase una fórmula como la que usted misma insinúa finamente en su carta, pareja a la de los diplomáticos destacados fuera de España. Por supuesto que de ello no he de hablar con nadie más, como usted me ruega con mucho tiento*. See: RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8158, envelope 1/8: 'Cartas del Padre Batllori', letter from Miguel Batllori sent from Rome on 17 July 1956.

50. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8158, envelope 1/8: 'Cartas del Padre Batllori', letter from Miguel Batllori sent from Rome on 2 November 1956.

51. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8158, envelope 1/6: 'Cartas de eruditos con notas', letter from Marcel Bataillon sent from Paris on 8 October 1957. Bataillon comments on the possibility of becoming a candidate for correspondent academician: *Supongo que si Ud. [Gaibrois] creyó útil avisarme antes de dar el paso, no fue por crearme enemigo de las Academias, sino más bien por haber notado mi actitud de reserva frente a la España oficial*. He confesses he is not eager about the *contacto oficial con los jerarcas del actual régimen*,

By trying to appoint people who were anything but devoted to Franco's regime as academicians, Mercedes Gaibrois showed her independence and a firm will to let History go beyond the control of the political authorities. This attitude must be linked to the project the Royal Academy of History that began in the late 1950s. The project aimed at uniting historians who lived in Spain and those in exile. The academicians felt they were the heirs of those historians who worked in the 1920s and 1930s and were forced to leave Spain. The project was supposed to bring the 'pilgrim Spain' closer⁵² and Mercedes Gaibrois participated actively in it. And this was not the only way in which Gaibrois tried to free culture (and History, especially) from this kind of restrictive influences.

The 9th International Congress of Historical Sciences (Paris, 1950)

As the foundation of a salon and its gazette *Correo erudito* clearly demonstrated, Mercedes Gaibrois considered exchanging ideas among intellectuals a key point in cultural development⁵³. Due to this, she was determined to attend the Congress of Historical Sciences in Paris in 1950. This congress was organized by the International Committee of Historical Sciences (ICHS or CISH, which stands for its name in French). The Committee was founded in Geneva on 15 May 1926, after the idea that emerged in the 5th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Brussels (1923). This new organization wanted to unite intellectuals in the historical sciences from around the globe to promote and support the cooperation among them⁵⁴.

ni siquiera con algunos de los que mandan en el C.S.I.C. [Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas]. [...] Estoy seguro de que Ud. y don Ramón [Ramón Carande, I suppose], que me conocen bastante bien, no hubieran pensado en mí si fuera necesario presentar para académicos correspondientes personas afectas a un determinado régimen.

52. Peiró, 'La aventura intelectual', p. 23. The interest shown by Gaibrois in contacting other historians regardless of their political ideas should be also linked to the 'politique de l'apolitisme', which emerges among Spanish intellectuals in general –and university professors in particular– aiming at creating a cultural environment free of any political influences. See: Peiró, 'Ausente no quiere decir inexistente', p. 12; and Ignacio Peiró Martín, *Eduardo Ibarra y la profesión de historiador en España*, to appear soon in Urgoiti Editores, Pamplona (especially, chapter 3). I would like to thank Prof. Peiró for having let me read the manuscript of his book before its publication.

53. Sánchez, 'Necrología', p. 14.

54. For more information about the International Committee of Historical Sciences see: Karl Dietrich Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community of Historians. The International Con-*

One of the main goals of the ICHS was to organize international congresses of historians that took place at regular intervals. Before the effort made by the ICHS, those meetings were held more sporadically. The first of the congresses of the ICHS was celebrated in Oslo in 1928, then came Warsaw in 1933, and finally Zurich in 1938. World War II interrupted them and it was only in 1950 that these international congresses resumed.

Thanks to Rafael Altamira y Crevea, Spain had participated both in the founding of the ICHS and in the creation of its international congresses from the very beginning⁵⁵. Nevertheless, the Civil War (1936-1939) prevented any Spanish historian from attending the International Congress of Historical Sciences in 1938. In fact, Mercedes Gaibrois and some other Spaniards had participated in the previous one, the Congress of Warsaw (1933)⁵⁶. When the ICHS regained its activities after World War II, president Hans Nabholz sent a letter to Ramón Menéndez Pidal, dean of the Royal Academy of History, to formally invite Spain to rejoin it⁵⁷.

Furthermore, quite a few Spanish historians were invited individually to the congress to be celebrated in Paris in 1950. Gaibrois quickly understood it was time for Spain to take part not individually, but collectively in the Congress. She talked to some colleagues and decided to create a national committee that allowed Spaniards to participate as a national delegation. Thus, those Spanish historians invited to the congress united and formed the Spanish Committee of Historical Sciences, whose president was Mercedes Gaibrois, its secretary was José María Lacarra de Miguel (Professor of the University of Zaragoza), and its other members were Luis Pericot García (University of Barcelona), Ángel Ferrari Núñez (University of Madrid),

gresses and the International Committee of Historical Sciences, 1898-2000 (New York and Oxford: Berghalm Books, 2005).

55. Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Proceso Histórico de la Historiografía Humana*, (Mexico D.F.: Colegio de México, 1948), p. 123. Eloy Benito Ruano, 'Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros', in *Homenaje y Memoria (I) (1999-2000)*, ed. by Eloy Benito Ruano (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2003), p. 200.

56. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/16: 'Lazo de Isabel la Católica', informe del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores de España sobre la actividad profesional de Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/5: 'Varias cartas familiares', letter sent to her family in Madrid by Mercedes Gaibrois when she was in Warsaw attending the International Congress of Historical Sciences (Warsaw, 23 August 1933).

57. Benito, 'Doña Mercedes Gaibrois', p. 200.

Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois (University of Madrid), and Jaime Vicens Vives⁵⁸ (University of Barcelona).

Beside this, Gaibrois began all the paperwork required to obtain permission from the authorities to attend the congress. This way, she wrote a report for the Spanish Foreign Office on the invitations received by many historians, the constitution of the Spanish Committee, and the need of attending the congress. Gaibrois emphasized the fact Spain could not miss the opportunity to let the rest of the world know about the progress of the national historical sciences. Then, the fascist authorities would see the Spanish delegation to the ICSH as a way of spreading their propaganda. Moreover –she added– the absence of the Spanish Committee from Paris would give some ‘malicious Spanish individuals in the exile’ the chance of expose ‘pejorative versions’⁵⁹.

Gaibrois’s tactics –consisting in telling the Ministry what they wanted to hear– were successful and the Spanish Committee could finally take part in the 9th Congress of Historical Sciences, which was held from 23 August to 3 September 1950 in Paris⁶⁰. Once all the attendants were back in Spain, Gaibrois had to prepare another report on what happened in the Congress for the Ministry. Here, Gaibrois presented the participation

58. This Catalan historian considered this Congress as a key point in his career, because he was able to meet historians from other Historical tendencies, such as the *Annales* or the Historical Materialism. After the congress, Vicens Vives declared that History based on political facts was over and, on the contrary, Economic and Social History were the upcoming themes. For more information about the influence of this congress on this author, see: Josep M. Muñoz i Lloret, *Jaume Vicens i Vives (1910-1960). Una biografia intel·lectual* (Barcelona, Edicions 62, 1997), pp. 187-188. See also: Jaume Vicens Vives, *Juan II de Aragón (1398-1479): Monarquía y revolución en la España del siglo XV*, ed. by Paul H. Freedman and Josep M. Muñoz i Lloret (Pamplona: Ugoiti Editores, 2003), p. XXVII.

59. Gaibrois’s words were: *No conviene dejar de estar presentes en un Congreso en el que uno de los temas primordiales es el de los informes por naciones del progreso de la ciencia histórica de cada país. De estar ausente una delegación española, sancionada y enviada por la Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, se corre el riesgo de que elementos españoles malintencionados, exiliados, den versiones peyorativas*. See: RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8158, envelope 1/3: ‘Correspondencia referente al Congreso de Ciencias Históricas de 1955’, Notas para una petición al Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores para participar en el X Congreso de Ciencias Históricas (by the way, notice this report is placed in the wrong envelope).

60. Twenty one Spanish historians participated in the congress; see: Erdmann, *Toward a Global Community of Historians*, p. 387. Have also a look at: ‘IX Congreso Internacional de Ciencias Históricas (París, 23 de agosto al 3 de setiembre de 1950)’, *Revista de Indias*, 41 (July-September 1950), pp. 700-701. ‘Aportaciones españolas a congresos científicos internacionales: IX Congreso Internacional de Ciencias Históricas’, *Arbor*, 60 (December 1950), pp. 442-443.

of the Spanish Committee as a 'success for Spain'. Besides, she indicated the creation of the Spanish Committee would prevent all kind of 'fractionated aspirations of representation, as in the case of Catalonians'⁶¹.

Apart from the bureaucratic hassle, Gaibrois began to draw up the statutes of the Spanish Committee of Historical Sciences. Here the help provided by José María Lacarra was essential, because it was him who did a first draft of the statutes. Lacarra used the Statutes of the International Committee and the Statutes of the French Committee as a model and adapted them to the Spanish circumstances. Lacarra agreed totally with Gaibrois in remarking the importance of breaking the isolation suffered by Spain and the Spanish historians for more than fifteen years⁶².

It took more than one year to get the statutes approved by the authorities. The approval came on 16 July 1952⁶³. Soon after that, the Spanish Committee of Historical Sciences met to choose a new board. Actually, the board whose president was Mercedes Gaibrois was only provisional, because it was formed just to attend the Congress in 1950. In December 1952 the meeting took place in Madrid. Her modesty made Gaibrois refuse the presidency, which was given to the Duke of Alba (Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó) instead⁶⁴. Mercedes Gaibrois was then appointed as vice-president and she occupied this post until her death. From this meeting onwards, the Spanish Committee changed its name and was called Spanish Association of Historical Sciences⁶⁵.

61. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8158, envelope 1/1: 'Congreso de Ciencias Históricas (I)', Notas para un informe al Ministro de Asuntos Exteriores. As I commented above, Gaibrois mentioned that *la asistencia al curso [...] ha sido el éxito de España*. Concerning the Spanish Committee, she said: *El que exista un comité centraliza en él toda otra aspiración representativa fraccionada, como en el caso de los catalanes*. Finally, Gaibrois announced that a report would be presented soon and that she could provide the Minister with another confidential one: *Anunciarle que irá un informe muy detallado, pero que si lo desea puede irle a él uno confidencial*.

62. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8158, envelope 1/1: 'Congreso de Ciencias Históricas (I)', Proyecto de estatutos del Comité Español de Ciencias Históricas 2 March 1951) and letter sent by José María Lacarra to Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros (Zaragoza, 4 March 1951).

63. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8158, envelope 1/2: 'Congreso de Ciencias Históricas (II)', Convocatoria para una reunión de la Asociación Española de Ciencias Históricas.

64. Benito, 'Doña Mercedes Gaibrois', p. 201.

65. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8158, envelope 1/2: 'Congreso de Ciencias Históricas (II)', letters from Mercedes Gaibrois to Robert Fawtier, president of the ICSH, and Michel François, secretary-general of the ICSH (Madrid, 18 January 1953).

Although Gaibrois was not on top on the Spanish Association anymore, she continued to work for it and for the exchange of ideas between Spanish historians and their colleagues from all over the world. Thus, she participated actively in the 10th Congress of International Sciences that took place in Rome in 1955 and organized in a great measure the Assembly of the ICHS celebrated in Madrid in 1956⁶⁶.

Influences and Method

As mentioned above, Antonio Ballesteros introduced Mercedes Gaibrois to historical research. It can be said Gaibrois became another disciple of Ballesteros's school (although she was quite original in many respects). The pillars of this school were: method, research and synthesis⁶⁷. Throughout her many essays Gaibrois remained loyal to the teachings of her husband. A brief look at Ballesteros' theories on History will be very useful in understanding Gaibrois's methodology.

In 1913 Antonio Ballesteros and his cousin Pío Ballesteros wrote a manual for young historians⁶⁸. Here we can find Antonio Ballesteros's ideas about the developmental scope of historical science, the method, and the techniques any historian should employ. The first question Ballesteros addressed was about the subject of History. According to him, the subject of History is the human being, both as an individual and collective subject. Consequently, History should be a fact-finding enterprise to disentangle the thread of human evolution. To do this, the historian is obliged to determine the degree of importance of each fact, because some are more important than others and political facts are, generally, the most important and determining ones⁶⁹.

Ballesteros totally agreed with German scholar Ernst Bernheim's definition of history. In his *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie* (1908), Bernheim defined history as the science that

66. Full information about these issues at: RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8158, envelope 1/3: 'Correspondencia referente al Congreso de Ciencias Históricas de 1955' and envelope 1/4: 'Correspondencia referente al Congreso de Ciencias Históricas de 1957'.

67. Ramón Ezquerro, 'En el primer centenario de don Antonio Ballesteros', *Revista de Indias*, 163-164 (January-June 1981), p. 294.

68. Antonio Ballesteros and Pío Ballesteros, *Cuestiones históricas (Edades Antigua y Media)* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de Juan Pérez Torres, 1913), p. 5.

69. Ibid., pp. 43-46.

researches the facts of human development⁷⁰. In other words, Ballesteros can be linked to Historicism. This current of thought is rooted in the concept of 'History of civilisation' proposed by Guizot⁷¹ and, afterwards, in Positivism. In this sense, Ballesteros understood the historic process as the development of human beings towards progress. Due to this, the historical science should study this process considering every fact 'in terms of the place which it occupied and the role which it played' within this development⁷². Ballesteros summed up this idea affirming that 'History is the science of causes'⁷³. According to Historicism, 'phenomena are unfolding, developing processes whose ends are encoded in, and explained by, their beginnings'⁷⁴.

The historicist's way of writing history tends to 'the language of cause and effect', showing the beginning of a phenomenon linked to the end of another phenomenon⁷⁵. History has neither beginning nor end. History lacks all kind of continuity because everything is changing constantly according to the specific contexts of every region in time. As a matter of fact, most criticism against Historicism is related to its inability to show the structures and any other fact of *longue durée* present in history⁷⁶.

Historicism had a great influence in Spain, especially since *La enseñanza de la Historia* by Rafael Altamira y Crevea was published. This prestigious professor pleaded for joining the concept of 'History of civilisation' and the study of great personalities from the past⁷⁷. Both Antonio Ballesteros and Mercedes Gaibrois agreed with Altamira and their essays reflect this agreement very well. For example, Ballesteros wrote *Historia de España y su influencia en la Historia Universal*⁷⁸, which develops the idea of 'Spanish civilization', and *Alfonso X el Sabio*⁷⁹, where the history of relevant personalities was prac-

70. Ibid., pp. 47-48.

71. Pasamar, *La Historia Contemporánea*, p. 57.

72. Aviezer Tucker, 'Historicism', in *A Global Encyclopedia of Historical Writing*, ed. by D. R. Woolf (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), p. 414.

73. Ballesteros and Ballesteros, *Cuestiones históricas*, p. 47.

74. Tucker, 'Historicism', p. 414.

75. F. R. Ankersmit, *Historical representation* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 125.

76. Peter Burke, 'Historia de los acontecimientos y renacimiento de la narración', in *Formas de hacer Historia*, ed. by Peter Burke (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1993), pp. 287-305 (pp. 289-291).

77. Pasamar, *La Historia Contemporánea*, p. 85.

78. Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, *Historia de España y su influencia en la Historia Universal*, 10 volumes (Barcelona: Salvat, 1919-1941).

79. Antonio Ballesteros Beretta, *Alfonso X el Sabio* (Barcelona: C.S.I.C., 1963).

ticed. In the case of Mercedes Gaibrois, her most important works focus on the study of relevant people from the past (i.e. the King Sancho IV of Castille and his wife María de Molina). From my point of view, the idea of 'history of civilization' –the Spanish civilisation, of course- is not as important in Gaibrois's works as it was in Ballesteros', although it is present in some other minor papers such as *Presencia de la mujer en la conquista de América*⁸⁰ or *Breve Historia de España*⁸¹.

Apart from this, Historicism is intrinsically linked to hermeneutic sciences, which help historians to analyse sources critically⁸². One of the pillars of Ballesteros' conception of history relied upon the method. He remarked the method was the only way of knowing the 'historical truth'⁸³. As Langlois and Seignobos, Ballesteros considered that the document is the irreplaceable raw material for historians: 'pas de document, pas d'histoire'⁸⁴. This is the reason why Ballesteros and Gaibrois travelled all over Spain –and the rest of Europe- searching for documents in the archives. Once historians have copied or taken notes from the documents, they proceeded to analyse them utilising Philology, Paleography, Psychology, and other sciences that can be defined as 'auxiliary'. Furthermore, historians should read all the bibliography related to the topic they are researching. The combination of sources, method, bibliography, and synthesis will finally create the history piece of work⁸⁵.

In order to demonstrate that Mercedes Gaibrois carefully followed the method proposed by Ballesteros, it will be useful to know what she says about her own work. In her *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*, Gaibrois explained that she had read all the books related to this King. Otherwise, the bibliography would not be abundant at all, and she visited many archives searching for unpublished documents. Then, she commented on the most important source available for the period she was studying, that is, the *Crónica de Sancho IV*. Gaibrois indicates she studied it critically and concluded it was a 'serious and truthful text' which could be used as a basis for her work. Apart from this, Gaibrois added that she used other documents to complete the

80. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Presencia de la mujer en la conquista de América*, (Madrid: Asociación cultural hispano-americana, 1940).

81. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Breve Historia de España* (Madrid: Ediciones Historia, 1940).

82. Raymond Aron, *Lecciones sobre la Historia. Cursos del Collège de France* (México D. F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1996), pp. 32-33.

83. Ballesteros and Ballesteros, *Cuestiones históricas*, p. 205.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

85. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

information provided by the *Crónica*. Finally, it is worth mentioning that she understood –as her husband did– the concept of ‘source’ in a broad sense. Gaibrois not only used royal registers, but also spending accounts, spy reports, poems, personal correspondence, etc.⁸⁶

Like Michelet⁸⁷, Ballesteros loved to compare historians to workers or labourers (‘ouvriers labourieux’)⁸⁸. But this figure of speech seems to make reference to some kind of rough and obscure work, though skilful. In the case of Gaibrois, it would be more suitable to define her as ‘artisan’ in the sense March Bloch used the term⁸⁹. Gaibrois was an artisan of history because she knew all the skills and methods required and she kept her mind open to new ideas and perspectives. She was an artisan also because she took many raw materials (i.e. sources) and shaped them into something that should not be named ‘piece of work’, but ‘piece of art’. Mercedes Gaibrois was an extremely talented writer. The literary quality of all her essays causes the false impression of ‘ease’ and ‘simplicity’. Nevertheless, Gaibrois’ works are tremendously serious, excellent from the point of view of method and techniques, full of details, notes, and thorough hypothesis.

A Critique of Mercedes Gaibrois's Essays

For more than forty years of hard and meticulous work, Mercedes Gaibrois wrote many essays that can be analysed according to the topics they embraced. Gaibrois’ s historiographical production discusses three different subjects: Medieval history, American history, and ‘Women’s History’. However, her papers often dealt with two of these topics at the same time. Analysing Gaibrois’s essays from the point of view of historiography will also lead us to an aspect that, from my point of view, is crucial to understand any historian’s work. This aspect has to do with the scholar’s motivation for choosing a particular research subject and the way he or she decided on the specific topic of investigation. In the case of Gaibrois, her motivation is linked to her feelings as a woman and as a mother, her great desire of understanding the mind and the soul of human beings, and her Catholic commitment, which made her admire people who showed strong principles and Christian virtues, such as love, compassion, piety, and so on.

86. Gaibrois, *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV*, volume I, pp. V-XIV.

87. Pasamar, *La Historia Contemporánea*, pp. 73-74.

88. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

Medieval history was the field where Mercedes Gaibrois gained the best reviews. Since the writing of the already mentioned ‘Tarifa y la política de Sancho IV el Bravo’, she focused on the study of the 13th and the first half of the 14th century. She did extensive research on the reign of Sancho IV of Castile. Not only she did study the personality of the King and his wife, María de Molina, but she also wrote some essays about other relevant people of that time, such as the Dominican friar Munio de Zamora⁹⁰ or Don Juan Manuel. Actually, this Castillian nobleman received great attention from Gaibrois, who wrote two articles about him. In the first one, ‘Los testamentos inéditos de Don Juan Manuel’, the author confessed why she was so interested in this personality. What caught Gaibrois’ attention is Don Juan Manuel’s strong historical character and his literary talent. Once Gaibrois made that clear, she focused on the two unpublished testaments she could find in a Portuguese archive. Throughout this essay, Gaibrois analysed Don Juan Manuel’s literary writings in order to try to explain certain bequests and instructions contained in his wills⁹¹.

The second paper Mercedes Gaibrois dedicated to Don Juan Manuel was actually a speech delivered on the Anniversary of the Book on 17 April 1943. Here, her fascination towards this personality is even clearer than in her first article. She analysed Don Juan Manuel psychologically (she talked about ‘discovering the psychological mystery of this personality’) and found ‘the antagonism between his written principles and his deeds’ intriguing⁹².

The highest historical quality was reached in her *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*. An ongoing effort developed over years and years of work ended with the publication of this book, which could be classified as ‘Histoire événementielle’, although this is not a negative consideration at all. On the contrary, it is a praise. As Luis Suárez Fernández said, Mercedes Gaibrois filled a gap that existed in Spanish historiography, because nothing had been published about the period of King Sancho IV. The book written

90. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, ‘Fray Munio de Zamora’, in *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der mittleren und neueren Geschichte und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften. Eine Festgabe zum siebzigsten Geburtstag Geh. Rat Prof. Dr. Heinrich Finke*, Münster, 1925, pp. 102-142.

91. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, ‘Los testamentos inéditos de don Juan Manuel’, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 99-1 (1931), pp. 25-59. See also: Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Los testamentos inéditos de don Juan Manuel* (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1932).

92. See: Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *El príncipe don Juan Manuel y su condición de escritor (Discurso leído ante el Instituto de España)* (Madrid: Imprenta de Editorial Magisterio Español, 1945), especially pp. 9-10.

by Gaibrois focused on the Castilian monarchy and its varied conceptions. The author managed to expose the different concepts of monarchy not only as a conflict between nobles and the king, but also as a struggle to determine what kind of government Castile was going to have. Moreover, Gaibrois related these internal conflicts to the economic interests generated by the expansion towards the South of the Iberian Peninsula⁹³.

In addition to these, Gaibrois wrote other articles that dealt with the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, they could be qualified as 'minor essays'. Among them we can mention the reports that the Royal Academy of History entrusted to her on various issues, such as 'El Condado de Treviño', 'Dos manuscritos españoles de la Biblioteca del Duque de Wellington y Ciudad Rodrigo', 'Ayuntamiento de Pozorrubio (Cuenca). Cambio de denominación' and 'Lugar del nacimiento de Santa Teresa de Jesús', all of them published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Her article 'Los Corbarán de Leet'⁹⁴, in which she studied the genealogy of this family, can also be included in the group of minor works.

The opposite can be said when referring to Gaibrois's essays on 'Women's History'. These were major works, although their origins were not academic. As mentioned above, Gaibrois's first article was published in *Voluntad*, a non-specialised magazine. It was a brief biography of Queen Isabel la Católica⁹⁵ and it was quite a success for the magazine. Subsequently, *Voluntad's* editor, Hilaria Benavente, asked Gaibrois to write more biographies of relevant women for the magazine. Gaibrois then prepared a list of women she wanted to write about. The list included Segunda (Saint Hermenegildo's wife), Sancha de León, Doña Jimena, Saint Teresa of Portugal, Sancha and Constanza (princesses of the Crown of Aragon), Teresa Gil de Vidaurre (wife of Jaime I of Aragon), Doña Mencía de Haro, María de Padilla, Blanca de Borbón, Juana la Loca, the four wives of Felipe II, Sister María de Ágreda, Mary of Hungary, María Teresa Rodríguez (Simón Bolívar's wife), and many others⁹⁶. Only a few names on her list were featured on *Voluntad*, such as Sister María of Ágreda, Anakaona (an American Queen), or the Aragonese princesses Sancha

93. Luis Suárez Fernández, 'Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros', in *Homenaje y Memoria (I)*, pp. 193-194.

94. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, 'Los Corbarán de Leet', *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch. Miscel·lània d'Estudis Literaris, Històrics i Lingüístics*, volume I (Barcelona, 1936), pp. 471-477.

95. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, 'Isabel la Católica', *Voluntad*, 3 (1919).

96. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8161: 'Particulares / Revista *Voluntad*', list containing the names of many relevant women from the past (1920).

and Constanza⁹⁷, but her work on women did not end there. Gaibrois took some of the brief essays published by *Voluntad*, revised them and republished them elsewhere, as it happened in the case of Isabel la Católica⁹⁸ and the four wives of Felipe II⁹⁹.

In addition, Gaibrois chose two more personalities from her list and wrote an essay about them many years after she had stopped working for *Voluntad*. Thus, Gaibrois published a paper about doña Mencía de Haro, who, according to Portuguese sources and other bibliography, was known to be the worst influence on King Sancho II of Portugal. Gaibrois tried to attenuate these severe opinions by providing new documents and analysing published sources from another point of view¹⁰⁰. The same motivation was present in an article about another relevant medieval woman. In 1947 Gaibrois wrote a paper about Leonor de Trastámara, Queen of Navarre, of whom she said she wanted to 'erase the hostile opinion' that historians had and to shed some 'piety' while painting her written portrait. Providing scholars with unpublished documents, Gaibrois revised all the theories about this queen and concluded that Leonor deserved more compassion than censorship¹⁰¹.

The other study that came out of that list made for *Voluntad* was dedicated to Queen Mary of Hungary. Gaibrois focuses on the affective life of the Spanish princess and describes her romance with the Prince of Wales as well her marriage to the King of Hungary, paying a lot of attention to the trip the

97. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, 'Una monja y un rey: Sor María de Ágreda', *Voluntad*, 12 (1920); idem, 'Anakaona', *Voluntad*, 15 (1920); and idem, 'Doña Constanza y Doña Sancha, Infantas de Aragón', *Voluntad*, 17 (1920).

98. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, 'Isabel la Católica' and 'Algunos rasgos de Isabel la Católica', in Antonio Ballesteros y Mercedes Gaibrois, *Ensayos históricos (I): de los tiempos de Isabel y Fernando* (Madrid: Ediciones Historia, 1941), pp. 9-14 and 43-56, respectively. The authors warned the readers that the articles contained in this book were not suitable for historians or any other scholars (see p. 7). Apart from this, both this book and another one written by Mercedes Gaibrois alone (*Breve Historia de España* (Madrid: Ediciones Historia, 1940)) present History in the same way the Francoist regime did, that is, praising the concept of Hispanic culture.

99. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Las 4 mujeres de Felipe el Prudente*, (Madrid: Ediciones Historia, s.d.). This book can also be included in the group of Gaibrois's essays that share the ideology of the Francoist regime.

100. See: Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *La reina doña Mencía (Miscelânea de estudos en honra de D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, professora da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade da Coimbra, 1930), especially, p. 13.

101. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, 'Leonor de Trastámara, reina de Navarra', *Príncipe de Viana*, 26 (January-March 1947), pp. 35-70 (especialmente, pp. 35 and 51).

princess made to her new country. But what really stands out in this article is the explanation Gaibrois gave about how she became interested in Mary of Hungary. Gaibrois referred to the strong impact that Velázquez's portrait of the Queen¹⁰² had on her. When she saw it, she could not help feeling attracted to Mary's 'sweet smile', which she interpreted as a sign of 'endless goodness'. Due to this, Gaibrois decided to study her life¹⁰³.

Based on the analysis above, there are two fundamental motivations for Gaibrois writing on women. First, she aimed to erase many negative impressions historians had of some women. Second, she wanted to enhance the good qualities of some other women who had not been studied at all, or who had been marginalised in historiographical debate. Both motivations are reflected in Gaibrois's most important work on women, entitled *María de Molina*¹⁰⁴. The origin of this book can also be traced in the magazine *Voluntad*, which published Gaibrois's brief biography of María de Molina¹⁰⁵.

In *María de Molina*, Gaibrois underlined the importance of the Castilian Queen's political activities. Queen María can be presented as a 'peace-maker', who always searched for consensus, and often acted as an arbitrator¹⁰⁶. Apart from its historiographical value, this book occupies a privileged place for its resonances in most recent feminist thought. The feminists of the 1960's would not find in *María de Molina* an ideal History of 'heroines'¹⁰⁷, because Gaibrois presented her as 'an exceptional woman in the parameters of total normality'¹⁰⁸. In other words, Gaibrois refused the idea of writing a History of 'heroines' in the style of 1960's Feminism. Her work runs along the lines of 21st century feminist thought, which saves María de Molina from 'the authority-depriving platitude of exceptionality'¹⁰⁹.

102. This portrait is part of the collection of the Museo del Prado.

103. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Las jornadas de María de Hungría (1606-1646). Conferencia leída en la serie organizada por el Centro de Intercambio Intelectual Germano-Español, el día 5 de marzo de 1926*, Conferencias dadas en el Centro de Intercambio Intelectual Germano-Español, 9 (1926) (especialmente, p. 3).

104. See: Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *María de Molina* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1936) (republished under the title *María de Molina, tres veces reina* in 1967 by Espasa-Calpe).

105. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, 'María la Grande, tres veces reina', *Voluntad*, 6 (1920).

106. Muñoz, 'Semper pacis amica', pp. 274-275.

107. Joan Scott, 'Historia de las mujeres', in *Formas de hacer Historia*, ed. by Peter Burke (Madrid: Alianza, 1993), p. 60.

108. Gaibrois, *María*, p. 268.

109. Muñoz, 'Semper pacis amica', pp. 275-276.

Finally, I will briefly comment on Gaibrois's essays on American history. Four papers should be included in this category: 'Anakaona', that is, the biography of this American queen, published in *Voluntad; Presencia de la mujer en la conquista de América*; and two articles written in the review *Raza Española. Revista de España y América*.

Presencia de la mujer en la conquista de América was a lecture broadcast on the radio in 1940, the text of which was published afterwards. Gaibrois focused on the spiritual and religious role played by the women who took part in the conquest of America. She emphasized the many dangers those women faced and their legacy in American culture. According to Gaibrois, women established 'the Christian and Spanish home', which was the basis for the concept of 'Hispanidad'¹¹⁰. It has been suggested that Gaibrois created a kind of 'Christian feminism'¹¹¹ in this paper, although this might be considered as a little exaggerated.

The other two articles Gaibrois wrote about American history were published in *Raza Española. Revista de España y América*. This review was founded in 1919 and its director was Blanca de los Ríos, friend of Gaibrois's. *Raza Española* advocated the cultural union of the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America (or 'Spanish America', as the review would have preferred). According to the founders of *Raza Española*, Spain split into two when the ancient Spanish colonies became independent. The process of cultural reunion proposed in *Raza* was based on the language (Spanish) and religion (Catholic faith) that people from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean shared¹¹². Nevertheless, whenever Gaibrois participated in *Raza Española*, she usually remarked her Colombian origins. This way, Gaibrois wrote 'El último soldado de Bolívar', which dealt with her memories of an old soldier who fought in Bolívar's army and who met the leader of the independence movement in flesh¹¹³, and 'Un artista y escritor colombiano', where she analysed the biography and work of Roberto Pizano¹¹⁴.

110. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, *Presencia de la mujer en la conquista de América* (Madrid: Asociación Cultural Hispano-Americana, 1940). RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8159, envelope 2/7: 'Presencia de la mujer en América (conferencia radiofónica)'.

111. Carmen Morales García, 'Antonio Ballesteros y Mercedes Gaibrois: América como tema', *Vegueta*, 7 (2003), p. 186.

112. *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

113. Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, 'El último soldado de Bolívar', *Raza Española, Revista de España y América*, 47-48 (November-December 1922), pp. 45-48.

114. Sánchez, 'Necrología', p. 16.

Conclusions

All through her life Mercedes Gaibrois obtained many awards and became a member of many prestigious institutions. It has already been mentioned that she entered the Royal Academy of History in 1935 and became its librarian in 1949. She was also a corresponding fellow of the Academia de Buenas Letras in Barcelona, of the Colombian Academy of History¹¹⁵, and of the Academy of Geography and History of Nicaragua¹¹⁶, as well as member of the Consejo Nacional de Mujeres de la República Argentina¹¹⁷. Apart from the Duke of Alba award that Gaibrois received in 1920, she also obtained the Orden de Bocayá of Colombia, the Great Cross of the Cruzeiro do Sul of Brazil, and the Lazo de Isabel la Católica of Spain in 1959¹¹⁸. Gaibrois obtained this award just six months before her death, on the 25th of January 1960. She died in her apartment in the Royal Academy of History.

Many tributes were paid to Gaibrois. Especially significant were those paid by the Royal Academy of History and by the Colombian Academy of History. On 11 November 1960 a tribute evening was held in the Colombian Academy of History and, in October 1966, a portrait of Mercedes Gaibrois was hung on the walls of this institution¹¹⁹. The Royal Academy of History in Madrid organized another evening tribute in 2000. Renowned professors such as Antonio Rumeu de Armas, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, Luis Suárez Fernández, and Eloy Benito Ruano participated in the tribute by delivering speeches¹²⁰. I would like to finish this paper quoting the words Luis Suárez Fernández pronounced on this occasion. He remarked that Mercedes Gaibrois' works are 'a constant call to pay attention to the complexity of things'¹²¹.

Nothing is simple in historical development and Gaibrois worked to throw some light on it. Moreover, Gaibrois understood the intricacy of human beings and tried to disentangle the minds and souls of the people that she stud-

115. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño.

116. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/7: 'Recuerdos de mi madre, Mercedes Gaibrois'.

117. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8161, envelope 4/4: 'Correspondencia años 1930-1935', letter sent from Buenos Aires on 24 July 1931.

118. RAH, Archive of Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros, box 9/8160, envelope 3/16: 'Lazo de Isabel la Católica'.

119. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño, document 107: 'Velada necrológica y colocación del retrato de Mercedes Gaibrois en la Academia de la Historia de Colombia'.

120. RAH, Expediente de Mercedes Gaibrois y Riaño, 'Homenaje de la Real Academia de la Historia a Don Antonio Ballesteros Beretta y a Doña Mercedes Gaibrois de Ballesteros'.

121. Suárez, 'Doña Mercedes Gaibrois', p. 194.

ied. In order to do so, she used love as the most important tool of her craft: Mary of Hungary's smile generated love in Gaibrois, and from love she began her historical research. She tried to reflect love when considering women from the past by presenting them in a positive light. And above all, Gaibrois loved her job. She used to say she did not know if love had led her to history or vice-versa. Actually, the answer to this question does not matter at all, because history and love were –so to say– synonymous for Gaibrois.

Chronology

- 1891. Born in Paris.
- 1908. Travel to Spain.
- 1910. Marriage to Antonio Ballesteros Beretta.
- 1919. Publication of Mercedes Gaibrois's first essay.
- 1920. Gaibrois obtains the Duke of Alba Award.
- 1922-1928. Publication of *Historia del reinado de Sancho IV de Castilla*.
- 1922. First nomination for member of the Royal Academy of History.
- 1932. Second nomination and subsequent election as member of the Royal Academy of History
- 1935. Inauguration as an academician.
- 1936. Publication of *María de Molina*.
- 1940. Foundation of a salon and publication of *Correo erudito. Gaceta de las Letras y de las Artes*
- 1949. Death of Antonio Ballesteros. Gaibrois is appointed librarian of the Royal Academy of History.
- 1950. Attends the 9th International Congress of Historical Sciences in Paris.
- 1960. Dies in Madrid.

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Hans-Robert Jauss (1921 – 1997)

Luis Galván

Hans-Robert Jauss, well known as a literary theorist, was also an outstanding scholar in medieval and modern Romance literature. This essay covers both his work as a medievalist and the significance of his theories and research projects on medieval topics.

Life

Hans-Robert Jauss was born in Göppingen in 1921. After completing his *Gymnasium* studies, he served in the Waffen-SS in World War II, and suffered imprisonment afterwards. In November 1948, he began studies in Romanic Philology, Philosophy, History and *Germanistik* at Heidelberg, where he was to remain until 1954. Jauss did his doctorate and *Habilitation* under the direction of Gerhard Hess. Among the academics in Heidelberg at that time were also Martin Heidegger and Hans Georg Gadamer.

Although Jauss's dissertation was in the area of modern French literature ('Zeit und Erinnerung in Marcel Proust's *A la recherche du temps perdu*'), his *Habilitationsschrift* was already on a medieval topic, comparative and theory-oriented ('Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Tierdichtung'). When he met Erich Köhler – who, after his *Habilitation* with a work on the romances by Chrétien de Troyes, had received an appointment at Heidelberg as Ordinary Professor –, they decided to found the *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, the first volume of which appeared in 1968.

Jauss became full professor at the University of Giessen in 1961. He collaborated there with Clemens Heselhans, Hans Blumenberg, and Wolfgang Iser, in order to start a series of interdisciplinary colloquia, under the general heading 'Poetik und Hermeneutik'.

In 1966, Jauss was invited to join the University of Constance by his former professor Gerhard Hess, who had been appointed its president. The newly founded University of Constance was an important aspect of the reform of the German university system that was taking place in those times. The University was set up with a cooperative and cross-disciplinary structure of 'Units of Teaching and Research'. Jauss was particularly involved in setting up the *Fachbereich Literaturwissenschaft*. It brought together five professors from

different language fields: Manfred Fuhrmann (Latin), Wolfgang Iser (English), Hans-Robert Jauss (Romance), Wolfgang Preisendanz (German), and Jurij Striedter (Slavic). They aimed at developing a new concept of literary studies,

converting the received curricular plans of national philologies into the new, interdisciplinary unit of literary studies which was to be grounded in the general development of theory, and thus not in the merely comparative consideration of literature. The development of theory demanded an opening up of philological-historical praxis to scientific requirements [...]. In the carrying out of this methodological prescription, the Constance literary critics have from the beginning developed a particular concept, the so-called theories of literary reception and effect.¹

Jauss's inaugural lecture in 1967, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', was a sort of manifesto for this theoretical concept, and proposed some lines along which research should be conducted in the following years. These ideas had naturally a bearing on Jauss's subsequent work as a medievalist, and also took him beyond medieval literature. The connection between reception theory and medievalism is made explicit in the introduction to his collected essays on medieval literature, *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur* (1977).

From the late 60's until the 80's, Jauss engaged in work with colleagues and students at Constance, in order to develop teaching and research. He was also guest professor in several universities in Europe and North America. He retired in 1987, and lived near Constance, where he was still active as Professor Emeritus. He contributed an essay to the book *Geisteswissenschaften heute* (1991), concerning the pioneering role of Literary Criticism in the development of the Human Sciences. Jauss died in 1997.

Intellectual Formation

Hans-Robert Jauss did his doctorate and *Habilitation* at Heidelberg in the 1950s. There, he would absorb the tradition of philosophical hermeneutics and develop it into a method for literary studies – a field under transformation in those years.

Martin Heidegger and Hans-Georg Gadamer were professors at Heidelberg at that time. Heidegger, in *Being and Time* (§ 31), explains understanding as

1. Rien T. Segers, 'An Interview with Hans Robert Jauss', *New Literary History*, 11 (1979-1980), 83-95 (p. 92; Jauss's words).

an existential mode of being. Gadamer assumes this position and develops a philosophical and methodological reflection on the Human Sciences. He opposes the approaches based on the 'aesthetic consciousness' and the 'historical consciousness', for these fail to take into account the works' pretence at manifesting truth. Gadamer proposes a dialogue between work and reader, where the latter has to let the work speak, and learn from it, without losing contact with his or her own world. Gadamer's key concepts in this respect are 'application' (*Anwendung*) and 'fusion of horizons' (*Horizontverschmelzung*)².

In the area of literary studies, Gerhard Hess, who was director to Jauss' dissertation and *Habilitationsschrift*, was interested in the relationship between literature and society, literary studies and sociology. Following this path, Jauss would become engaged in the profound transformation that literary criticism was experiencing in those years. It was striving to attain the status of a scientific discipline. The work of the Russian Formalists in the first decades of the century came to be known in the West in the 1950's and 1960's, with Viktor Erlich's survey and the anthologies collected by Todorov and Striedter³. Käte Hamburger's *Die Logik der Dichtung* and Northrop Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism* both appeared in 1957. The same year saw the publication of *Mythologies* by Roland Barthes and *Syntactic Structures* by Noam Chomsky, and *Anthropologie structurale* by Claude Lévi-Strauss followed one year later –works beyond the normal bounds of Literature, which however would thoroughly influence linguistics, literary criticism and the interpretation of culture.

Jauss's *Habilitationsschrift* still does not take such a general and theoretical stance; it focuses instead on a medieval corpus of *Tierdichtung*: rewritings of fables, and epic poems with anthropomorphic animals. However, Jauss does address the texts in search of their narrative and communicative organization, thus going far beyond traditional questions of *Quellen-* or *Toposforschung* and *Entstehungsgeschichte*. For instance, the narrative structure of *Ysengrimus*, *Roman de Renart* and their cognates, Jauss says, is based on a fundamental an-

2. See David C. Hoy, *The Critical Circle: Literature, History, and Philosophical Hermeneutics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Joel Weinsheimer, *Gadamer's Hermeneutics: A Reading of 'Truth and Method'* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale UP, 1985), pp. 184-87; Georgia Warnke, *Gadamer: Hermeneutics, Tradition, and Reason* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), pp. 91-99, 168-71; Luis Galván, 'El concepto de aplicación en la hermenéutica literaria', *Signa: Revista de la Asociación Española de Semiótica*, 13 (2004), pp. 67-101.

3. Viktor Erlich, *Russian Formalism: History-Doctrine* (Den Haag: Mouton, 1955); *Théorie de la littérature: Textes des formalistes russes réunis*, ed. by Tzvetan Todorov (Paris: Seuil, 1965); *Texte der russischen Formalisten*, ed. by Juri Striedter, 2 vols (München: Fink, 1969-1972).

tagonism of fox and wolf, an antagonism that constitutes a new literary phenomenon and cannot be explained by mere aggregation of sources or character traits. He shows that the interpretation of the animal world is also transformed: where the Aesopic tradition used to contrast 'good' vs. 'evil', 'wise' vs. 'fool', medieval versions refer to good and evil in feudal sense, i. e., 'loyal' vs. 'faithless'.

In this research, Jauss considered the prior knowledge an author could take for granted in his or her audience, and the orientations for understanding that emanated from the very text being read⁴. These aspects of literary communication he termed 'horizon of expectations' (*Erwartungshorizont*), a concept developed in Husserl's Phenomenology, Mannheim's Sociology and Popper's Epistemology, and that was to play so prominent a role in Gadamer's Hermeneutics as well as in Reception Theory. Jauss looked back at his *Habilitationsschrift* some years later, when he set out the method of the history of reception:

The creator of the oldest branches of the *Roman de Renart* assumed –as his prologue testifies– that his listeners knew romances like the story of Troy, *Tristan*, heroic epics (*chansons de geste*) and verse fables (*fabliaux*) and that they were, therefore, curious about the 'unprecedented war of the two barons, Renart and Ysengrin', which was to overshadow everything familiar. The works and genres which are called to mind are all ironically alluded to in the course of the poem. The success of this work, which rapidly became famous even outside of France, and which for the first time took a position opposed to all heroic and courtly poetry up to that time, can probably be explained by this change of horizon.⁵

Literaturgeschichte als Provokation and the 'Paradigm Shift'

With his *Antrittsvorlesung* in Constance, Jauss enters the field of Literary Theory; however, his claims are so grounded in his former work as a medievalist and are so significant to subsequent research on Medieval literature, that they deserve full exposition here.

Jauss points to the waning of positivistic Literary History in the 20th century, and evaluates the two more serious attempts to give that discipline a new

4. Hans-Robert Jauss, *Untersuchungen zur mittelalterlichen Tierdichtung*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie, 100 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1959), pp. 76, 153-4, 180, 225, 271.

5. Hans-Robert Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', in *New Directions in Literary History*, ed. by Ralph Cohen (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), pp. 11-41 (p. 23).

theoretical background: the Marxist and Formalist schools. Both prove too narrow. There is still a gap between literature and history, the transformation of literary systems and the transformation of social and economic systems. Marxism and Formalism cannot fill the gap because

neither approach recognizes the true role of the reader to whom the literary work is primarily addressed, a role as unalterable for aesthetic as for historical appreciation. For the critic who judges a new work, the writer who conceives of his work in the light of positive or negative norms of an earlier work and the literary historian who classifies a work in his tradition and explains it historically are also readers before their reflexive relationship to literature can become productive again. [...] The historicity of literature as well as its communicative character presupposes a relation of work, audience and new work which takes the form of a dialogue as well as a process, and which can be understood in the relationship of question and answer, problem and solution.⁶

Thus the title of the *Antrittsvorlesung*: 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory' (*Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft*): 'If literary history is to be rejuvenated, the prejudices of historical objectivism must be removed and the traditional approach to literature must be replaced by an aesthetics of reception and impact'⁷.

Jauss proceeds to outline the fundamentals of method and inquiry for Reception Theory. First of all, it should not be confused with indulging in the critic's own reactions or with fantasies about those of the readers.

The analysis of the literary experience of the reader avoids the threatening pitfalls of psychology if it describes the response and the impact of a work within the definable frame of reference of the reader's expectations: this frame of reference for each work develops in the historical moment of its appearance from a previous understanding of the genre, from the form and themes of already familiar works, and from the contrast between poetic and practical language.⁸

Besides,

A literary work, even if it seems new, does not appear as something absolutely new in an informational vacuum, but predisposes its readers to a very definite type of reception by textual strategies, overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics or implicit allusions.⁹

6. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', p. 12.

7. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', p. 13.

8. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', p. 15.

9. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', p. 16.

Jauss then proposes the concept of 'aesthetic distance': 'the distance between the given horizon of expectations and the appearance of a new work'. Thus, 'the new is not only an *aesthetic* category [...]. The new becomes an historical category'¹⁰. Moreover, it provides the basis for evaluating literature: 'The distance between the horizon of expectations and the work, between the familiarity of previous aesthetic experiences and the 'horizon change' demanded [...], determines the artistic nature of a literary work'¹¹. Here one can recognize the so called donkey's carrot of Literary Theory and Criticism: the objective value-judgement, even better if it brings together the historically significant and the artistically valuable. One recognizes also the revolutionary climate of the 1960s, when change and newness were seen as desirable on their own account (see also Jauss' discussion of the concept of the classical in Gadamer.)¹² A few years later, Jauss was to admit that he had put too strong an emphasis on distance; he assumed then that repetition and confirmation of expectations play also an important role in literary experience¹³.

Jauss ends his proposal by pointing to three ways of considering the historical relevance of literature: diachronically, synchronically, and in the relationship of literary development to general history. First, Reception Theory 'demands the ordering of the individual work in its 'literary series' so that its historical position and significance in the context of literary experience can be recognized'; this includes considering the return and re-evaluation of past works in the frame of a new horizon¹⁴. Secondly, Reception Theory 'discovers functional connection between the understanding of new works and the meaning of old works. This perspective can also make it possible to [...] discover a general system of relationships in the literature of one historical moment'¹⁵. Lastly, the literary historian must show the social function of literary works, which 'becomes manifest only where the literary experience of the reader enters the horizon of expectations of his life, forms his interpretations

10. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', pp. 18, 31.

11. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', p. 18.

12. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', pp. 24-27. Gadamer, in his turn, restated his position and refused to endorse Jauss' method (*Hermeneutik, II: Wahrheit und Methode, Ergänzungen* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1986], pp. 13-14).

13. Hans-Robert Jauss, 'Racines und Goethes *Iphigenie*. Mit einem Nachwort über die Partialität der rezeptionsästhetischen Methode', *Neue Hefte für Philosophie*, 4 (1973), 1-46 (p. 45).

14. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', pp. 27, 30.

15. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', pp. 31-32.

of the world, and thereby has an effect on his social actions,' 'as a stimulus to aesthetic perception' or 'to moral reflection,' for example¹⁶.

Reception Theory helped to bring about changes in Literary Studies. In 1969 Jauss wrote an essay in order to put them in the context of other recent developments in Literary Theory and claimed that a 'paradigm shift' was taking place¹⁷. He transfers to the literary field the notions of Thomas S. Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. As is well known, Kuhn distinguishes between 'normal science,' the activity of puzzle-solving within a 'paradigm,' i.e. by means of theories and methods that are not subject to discussion, and 'scientific revolution,' when a new paradigm is substituted for the older because this one could not account for too many 'anomalies.' Jauss considers three paradigms of Literary Studies in the past: Humanism, Historicism-Positivism, and Aestheticism. They can no longer – Jauss claims – fulfil three necessary tasks: activating the social function of Literary Studies; bringing works from the past to the present by means of new interrogation; and renewing the literary canon. Such are the challenges for the emerging paradigm, which consists of Reception Theory, Archetypal Criticism, Structuralism and Semiotics.

In this situation, Reception Theory became engaged in theoretical discussions as well as in practical application in research. The theoretical elaboration involved internal differentiation, such as the splitting into *Wirkungs-* and *Rezeptionsästhetik*, concerning the role of the text and the role of the reader, respectively, and also in 'bourgeois' and Marxist theories; there were also convergence and competence with rival theories that claimed to account for the reading experience and the social function of literature, such as Reader Response Theory, Affective Stylistics, *Empirische Literaturwissenschaft*, Pragmatics, etc.¹⁸ These issues do not concern us here so much as the innovations brought about in the field of medieval studies by Reception Theory, in

16. Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', pp. 35, 38

17. 'Paradigmawechsel in der Literaturwissenschaft', *Linguistische Berichte*, 3 (1969), 44-56. Of course, Jauss neither claimed that the ideas in his *Antrittsvorlesung* were completely new, nor did he pretend that the new paradigm was equal to Reception Theory. He used to be rather explicit about his sources and models; see especially 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', pp. 14 (notes), 24-27, 36 (notes). He also devoted his *Abschiedsvorlesung* (1987) to the 'unrecognized prehistory' of Reception Theory. In 1973 he recognized that Reception Theory was partial and needed elaboration and collaboration with other methods ('Racines und Goethes *Iphigenie*. Mit einem Nachwort über die Partialität der rezeptionsästhetischen Methode', p. 31).

18. Examples for these debates may be found in the volumes collected by Rainer Warning, *Rezeptionsästhetik* (München: Fink, 1975), and by José Antonio Mayoral, *Estética de la recepción* (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1987).

concurrence with Structuralism, Pragmatics, and Sociology of Literature. These results are what justify the claim of a 'paradigm shift' having taken place, or at least of a new research programme having been established – in Imre Lakatos' less subversive terms¹⁹.

This new research programme consists of three main lines: 1) Analysis and interpretation of individual literary works in order to ascertain what the 'textual strategies' are by means of which the work gives the reader orientations towards 'a very definite type of reception', and how it is related to the literary, cultural and social horizon of the readers²⁰; 2) studies on the institutional horizons of expectations as defined by conventions and genres – taking into account their communication situation (*Sitz im Leben*) — as well as studies on medieval ways of reading and receiving literature in general²¹; 3) studies

19. Imre Lakatos, 'Falsification and the Methodology of Scientific Research Programmes', in *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge*, ed. by Imre Lakatos & Alan Musgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965), pp. 91-196.

20. E.g.: Luis Galván, 'Horizontes de lectura en el ejemplo XI de *El conde Lucanor*', *Revista de Filología Española*, 84 (2004), 285-301, and his 'Intertexto, sentido, autoridad: "El lobo viendo ganado" (*Celestina*, XIX)', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 84 (2007), 677-700; E. Michael Gerli, 'Poet and Pilgrim: Discourse, Language, Imagery and Audience in Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*', in *Hispanic Medieval Studies in Honor of Samuel G. Armistead*, ed. by E. M. Gerli & H. L. Sharrer (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1992), pp. 139-51; Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, 'Literary Translation and Its Social Conditioning in the Middle Ages: Four Spanish Romance Texts of the 13th Century', *Yale French Studies*, 51 (1974), 205-22, and his 'Lachen und Arbitrarität/ Subjektivität und Ernst: Der *Libro de buen amor*, die *Celestina* und der Sinnbildungsstil der frühen Neuzeit', *Wolfram-Studien*, 7 (Berlin: Schmidt, 1982), 184-213 (English trans. in his *Making Sense in Life and Literature* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992]); Connie Scarborough, 'Una aplicación inicial de las teorías de recepción a las *Cantigas de Santa María* de Alfonso X', *Studia Hispanica Medievalia*, 3 (1995), 174-80; Karlheinz Stierle, 'Die Unverfügbarkeit der Erinnerung und das Gedächtnis der Schrift: Über den Ursprung des Romans bei Chrétien de Troyes', in *Memoria*, ed. by Anselm Haverkamp & Renate Lachmann, Poetik und Hermeneutik, 15 (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1993), 117-59; Haakayoo Zoggyie, 'Una lectura jaussiana del *Poema de Mio Cid*', *Tropos*, 24.1 (1998), 5-11.

21. E.g.: Alfred Adler, *Epische Spekulant: Versuch einer synchronen Geschichte des altfranzösischen Epos* (München: W. Fink, 1975); Uda Ebel, *Das altromanische Mirakel: Ursprung und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1965); Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, 'Wie fiktional war der höfische Roman?', *Funktionen des Fiktiven*, ed. by Dieter Henrich & Wolfgang Iser, Poetik und Hermeneutik, 10 (München: Fink, 1983), 433-40; Karlheinz Stierle, 'Studium: Perspectives on Institutionalized Modes of Reading', *New Literary History*, 22 (1991), 115-27; and his 'Cortoisie: Die literarische Erfindung eines höfischen Ideals', *Poetica: Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft*, 26.3-4 (1994), 256-83; Rainer Warning, 'Formen narrativer Identitätskonstitution im höfischen Roman', in *Le Roman jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle*, ed. by Jean Frappier & R. R. Grimm, GRMLA, 4.1

on the reception history of medieval works up to modern times; in this frame, the study of the history of Literary Criticism itself, as a medium through which medieval texts have reached modern readers, is also relevant²².

It is difficult to assess the results of Reception Theory on medieval scholarship. First, it is actually impossible to isolate what has been brought about by means of Reception Theory alone, since the research lines sketched above have been conducted for almost forty years and have naturally incorporated other theoretical approaches: Sociology, Pragmatics, etc. Second, there is no synthesis that would present medieval literature (or at least significant parts of it) as a whole from the point of view of Reception Theory. Such a synthesis is out of reach at present because of the variety of topics elaborated by different researchers and of the lacunae that still exist. Consequently, the main results of Reception Theory are less a coherent body of knowledge than new ways of looking at literature that enrich medieval scholarship. Such ways of looking, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht explained, perceive and assume the 'alterity' or 'otherness' and 'strangeness' of the works to be studied and so move their interpretation 'into the framework of a *historical hermeneutics*' for the reconstruction of the intellectual assumptions of original authors and public; this reconstruc-

(Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1978), 25-59; also his 'Moi lyrique et société chez les troubadours', *Archéologie du signe*, ed. by Lucie Brind'Amour & Eugène Vance (Toronto: Pontifical Inst. of Medieval Studies, 1983), pp. 63-100; and his 'On the Alterity of Medieval Religious Drama', *New Literary History*, 10.2 (1979), 265-92.

22. E.g.: Otfried Ehrismann, *Das Nibelungenlied in Deutschland: Studien zur Rezeption des Nibelungenliedes von der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum ersten Weltkrieg* (München: Fink, 1975); *Das Nibelungenlied: Ein deutscher Wahn, ein deutscher Alptraum: Studien und Dokumente zur Rezeption des Nibelungenstoffs im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Joachim Heinze & Anneliese Waldschmidt (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1991); *Moderne Artus-Rezeption, 18.-20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Kurt Gamerschlag (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991); Luis Galván, *El "Poema del Cid" en España, 1779-1936: recepción, mediación, historia de la filología* (Pamplona: Euna, 2001); Luis Galván & Enrique Banús, *El "Poema del Cid" en Europa: la primera mitad del siglo XIX*, Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar, 45 (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary, University of London, 2004). On the history of literary studies: Enrique Banús & Luis Galván, 'De cómo Mio Cid viajó a Alemania y volvió a España: la recepción de una recepción', *La corónica*, 28.2 (2000), 21-49; Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, 'Aspectos de una historia recepcional del *Libro de buen amor*', *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos*, 280-82 (1973): 598-610; also his "Un Souffle d'Allemagne ayant passé": Friedrich Diez, Gaston Paris, and the Genesis of National Philologies', *Romance Philology* 40.1 (1986), 1-37; and his "Las versiones que agradan mi imaginación" oder: Von Menéndez Pidal zur postmodernen Editionspraxis', *Textüberlieferung, Textedition, Textkommentar: Kolloquium zur Vorbereitung einer kritischen Ausgabe des 'Sueño de la muerte' von Quevedo*, ed. by Ilse Nolting-Hauff (Tübingen: Narr, 1993), pp. 57-72.

tion 'can serve as a *corrective* to prevent hasty inferences derived from text and communication theories aspiring to universal applicability and based on literature of the modern period'; finally, the awareness of the difference between medieval and modern reading processes 'can extract the *aesthetic quality of the exotic* from the articulated alterity of medieval texts'²³.

Leaving aside Reception Theory, the next two sections move to more specific research projects that Jauss undertook, which achieved indisputable results in medieval literary criticism.

Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters

The *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters* is no easy matter to deal with. With its bulk of more than twenty volumes and its intermittent publication over thirty years, it is both 'one of the most ambitious projects launched by European medievalists after World War II' and 'a sad and weary history', as Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht, its Chief Editor since 1976, put it²⁴. Since that history has been authoritatively told by Gumbrecht himself, I will only abstract from his tale some facts as well as reflections about epistemology and professional sociology involved in the *Grundriss*. I will then add some information about the contents contributed by Jauss.

The origins of this project lie in the encounter of Jauss and Erich Köhler in Heidelberg in 1958. They had just completed their *Habilitationsschriften* on medieval subjects, and probably found a significant convergence in their innovative research interests. They contacted prominent senior medievalists from other countries, like Jean Frappier, Aurelio Roncaglia and Martín de Riquer. The project was traditional in outlook and justification, but ambitious in scope. Even though Jauss and Köhler spoke about the necessity of updating Gustav Gröber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* (1902), their *Grundriss* was very different in fact: more limited in subject – *der romanischen Literaturen* (not Linguistics) *des Mittelalters* (only) –, as well as more comprehensive in detail. They also sought the aura of revered masters like Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Angelo Monteverdi and Leo Spitzer, who were named 'Éditeurs *Honoris Causa*'.

23. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, 'Strangeness as a Requirement for Topicality: Medieval Literature and Reception Theory', *L'Esprit créateur*, 21.2 (1981), 5-12 (p. 6).

24. Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, 'A Sad and Weary History: The *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*', *Medievalism and the Modernist Temper*, ed. by R. Howard Bloch & Stephen G. Nichols (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996), pp. 439-71 (p. 439).

Two principles of the *Grundriss* were to some extent innovative: the organization of contents according primarily to literary genres, not nationalities, and the international origin of the scholars selected to coordinate the volumes and contribute their studies. In fact, the two principles did collide: scholars outside Germany did not find the priority given to genre very natural, or else considered that their national literary tradition would require a special division in genres. So, the initial project had to be modified and a compromise between genres, nationalities and chronology was reached. The *Grundriss* was divided in two parts; the first one (beginning after vol. I: *Généralités*) contains the origins and developments of genres and forms up to the end of the 13th century:

Vol. II: *Les Genres lyriques*

Vol. III: *Les Épopées romanes*

Vol. IV: *Le Roman*

Vol. V: *Les Formes narratives breves*

Vol. VI: *La Littérature didactique, allégorique et satirique*

Inside each volume, individual sections are devoted to every major linguistic or national tradition (Occitan, French, Italian, Catalan, Castilian, Galician, according to the relative importance within each genre).

Then follows a second part for the 14th and 15th centuries, where the criteria are inverted, so that the volumes are devoted to national or geographic entities, and subdivided into sections for genres and forms:

Vol. VII: *L'Âge de Dante, Boccace et Petrarque*

Vol. VIII: *La Littérature en France aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*

Vol. IX: *La Littérature dans la Péninsule Ibérique aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*

Vol. X: *La Littérature en Italie aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*

The principle of genre returns at the end of the series:

Vol. XI: *La Littérature historiographique des origines à 1500*

Vol. XII: *Le Théâtre des origines à la fin du Moyen Âge*

The result was not wholly satisfactory, and the 'Préface du GRLMA' (in vol. I) expressed regret in having projected national differences onto the structure of the *Grundriss*. The 'Préface' also admitted shortcomings, such as the lack of attention to the sociohistorical and anthropological dimension of literary works, and the insufficient reflection and research about the complementary relations of the genres within a total literary system. Then, between 1975 and 1977 some changes took place: Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht and Ulrich Mölk were associated to Jauss and Köhler as Chief Editors; new guidelines were discussed, including more independence for the editors and authors of each volume and more attention to sociohistorical contents.

Gumbrecht maintains that work did advance in the following years, but the project lost coherence, turning into a mere series of collective volumes. With growing difficulties in organization, and financial trouble besides, the *Grundriss* ran into an impasse. It became less and less visible in the academic world, and consequently less and less attractive for young scholars to join in and contribute a chapter, instead of writing their own monograph on the subject that happened to please them²⁵.

Moreover, the *Grundriss* could not survive the epistemological changes in Literary Studies in general and Medievalism in particular.

On an epistemological level, what counts [...] is our present unwillingness to totalize. [...] we prefer to look to whatever we identify as 'margins', [...] we prefer to organize colloquia and collective volumes in such a way that they generate controversies, rather than around models of complementarity. [...] Who would be ready, under these circumstances, to spend a thousand hours editing manuscripts with text documentations, and who could be tempted to pay a thousand dollars for a book that promises to eliminate any surprise and any individual perspective in its presentation of a medieval genre?²⁶

Jauss' contributions to the content of the *Grundriss* are found in volumes I and VI. Volume VI of the *Grundriss*, the first one to come out, in 1968, is devoted to *La littérature didactique, allégorique et satirique* and has become a classic on the subject. Jauss wrote the chapter –or rather short monograph– on allegorical poetry²⁷. He points out that philosophy, literary theory and research have rehabilitated allegory from the discredit that it had into since the 18th century, and he suggests also an interdisciplinary path by beginning his exposition with the biblical roots of allegorical poetry in the romance languages. Subsequent sections deal with the tradition of the *Bestiaires*, the visions of the Other World and the End of the World, narratives of epic nature in the tradition of Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, and the Allegory of Love. Special attention is given to the *Roman de la Rose* and to Dante's *Vita nuova*,

25. It must be taken into account that each volume had two parts, with a "partie historique", i.e. a historical exposition of the subject, and a "partie documentaire" with information about authors and texts (short description, editions, bibliography); this part of the *Grundriss* required very thorough work and was anyway doomed to be rapidly outgrown by progressing research.

26. Gumbrecht, 'A Sad and Weary History...', pp. 467-68.

27. 'Entstehung und Strukturwandel der allegorischen Dichtung', in *La littérature didactique, allégorique et satirique*, ed. by Hans-Robert Jauss, GRLMA, 6 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1968), pp. 146-244 (section 3 on visions of the Other World and the End of the World, pp. 181-215, was written by Uda Ebel).

where the genre attains its summit and is also transformed. This chapter suffers from some limitations due to the structure of the *Grundriss*. First, it cannot go beyond the end of the 13th century; thus, very important allegorical works would be dealt with in subsequent volumes (moreover, they would be separated according to nationality or language). Second, it must deal with allegory as a literary genre, not as a device that may appear in works of different genres. It does not engage in a more systematic research and discussion of typology, being a different phenomenon but related to allegory. Typology could have connected with the analysis of *Vita nuova* at the end and provided a connection to the *Divina Commedia*. The omission is even more disappointing because typology had been discussed since the 1930s not only in biblical exegesis but also in literary scholarship (Erich Auerbach).

In volume I (1972), Jauss contributed a chapter on Genre Theory and Medieval Literature²⁸, thus providing the theoretical rationale for the organization of the whole *Grundriss*. He approaches the subject in an enquiring manner, considering not only that medieval scholarship should profit from the application of genre theory, but also that theory itself would be enhanced and extended, since it only had been tested, up to that moment, in fields more congenial to the notion of genre, such as classical literature and folklore. Jauss then sets out a concept of genre as a historical institution with a specific social function; goes on to the notion of a synchronic system of genres, analyzing as an instance the relationship between epic poetry, romance and the short novel; and points to the diachronic aspects of genres and their system. He devotes a section to the generic subsystems described by medieval authors themselves, such as the *tria genera dicendi* of Rhetoric and its application to Poetry with the *rota Vergili*, the opposition between *res gesta* and *res ficta* in narrative works, the kinds of lyric poetry described in arts of Provençal poetry. A new interdisciplinary slant is given in two sections on literary genres in the Bible: Jauss suggests that medieval research may profit from the concept of genre developed in biblical scholarship, and can also find in the Bible models of genres that medieval authors have imitated: songs, hymns, proverbs, legends, histories, letters, fables, allegories, prophecies, etc.

28. 'Theorie der Gattungen und Literatur des Mittelalters', *Généralités*, ed. by Maurice Delbouille, GRLMA, 1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1972), pp. 107-38; a shorter version in French had appeared before: 'Littérature médiévale et théorie des genres', *Poétique* 1 (1970), 79-101; also in: *Théorie des genres*, ed. by G. Genette & T. Todorov (Paris: Seuil, 1986), pp. 37-76.

As a conclusion, Jauss proposes to consider the middle ages as an enclosed world, with its beginning in the emergence of the vernacular literatures and its end in Renaissance with the reception of Aristotelian Poetics and the models of Classicism in general. For Jauss, this closure of the middle ages is an epistemological advantage because it allows for a study of its literary history as a whole, which enables us to contrast it with our own world. One could say that the main disadvantage is that it is not completely true – as Jauss knew very well, for he wrote about the survival of medieval literature up to the 20th century in various forms²⁹. However, he adds two considerations not without interest. First, that medieval literature is a privileged field for the discovery of how aesthetic phenomena mediate and organize non-aesthetic meaning. Secondly, the claimed closure of the middle ages and the aforementioned aims of knowledge would require, in a methodological respect, a synthesis of Structuralism and Hermeneutics –two ways of dealing with literature that were deemed at the time as alternative, if not as rivals³⁰.

Given the ‘sad and weary history’ of the *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters* as told by Gumbrecht, there is no way to be enthusiastic about its significance in the history of medieval research. However, it may be appreciated for the impulse given to certain lines of research and for the interest of each volume in itself. No project can be of minor value where such scholars have collaborated as, among others, Alfred Adler, Maurice Delbouille, Joseph J. Duggan, Jean Frappier, Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, Albert Gier, Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, Rita Lejeune, Francisco López Estrada, Alexandre Micha, Ulrich Mölk, Daniel Poirion, Martín de Riquer, Aurelio Roncaglia, Fritz Schalk, Cesare Segre, Rainer Warning, Michael Zink, and Paul Zumthor.

Poetik und Hermeneutik

‘Poetik und Hermeneutik’ is a series of interdisciplinary colloquia started by Hans Blumenberg, Clemens Heselerhaus, Wolfgang Iser and Hans-Robert Jauss in 1963; it reached its end with the 17th colloquium in 1996. The general name of the series is intended as a paradox or *concordantia oppositorum*, and

29. *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1977), p. 11.

30. See Gérard Genette, ‘Structuralisme et critique littéraire’, *Figures I* (Paris: Seuil, 1966), pp. 145-70; Tzvetan Todorov, *Qu’est-ce que le structuralisme?*, 2: *Poétique* (Paris: Seuil, 1973).

the founders did not intend to promote a line of research but to foster interdisciplinary discussion among scholars in the fields of Philosophy, Aesthetics and Art History, Literary Theory and Criticism, Linguistics, and History³¹. The list of scholars who have participated includes Arno Borst, Carl Dahlhaus, Manfred Frank, Manfred Fuhrmann, Algirdas J. Greimas, Walter Haug, Anselm Haverkamp, Dieter Henrich, Reinhart Herzog, Max Imdahl, Reinhart Koselleck, Siegfried Kracauer, Renate Lachmann, Odo Marquard, Jürgen Mittelstrass, Wolfhart Pannenberg, Siegfried Schmidt, Robert Spaemann, Jean Starobinski, Wolf-Dieter Stempel, Karlheinz Stierle, Peter Szondi, Jacob Taubes, Rainer Warning, Harald Weinrich, René Wellek, and others. The main emphasis of the colloquia was on the discussions, so that several of them were written down and included in the proceedings. This dialogical principle was also decisive for the orientation of the series, which was not planned in advance; instead, at the end of each colloquium, the participants would discuss what issue should be addressed in the next one. The entire list is: *Nachahmung und Illusion* (1); *Immanente Ästhetik, ästhetische Reflexion – about lyric poetry* (2); *Die nicht mehr schönen Künste* (3); *Terror und Spiel – about the reception of myths* (4); *Geschichte – Ereignis und Erzählung* (5); *Positionen der Negativität* (6); *Das Komische* (7); *Identität* (8); *Text und Applikation* (9); *Funktionen des Fiktiven* (10); *Das Gespräch* (11); *Epochenschwellen und Epochenbewusstsein* (12); *Individualität* (13); *Das Fest* (14); *Memoria* (15); *Das Ende* (16); *Kontingenz* (17).

There are contributions and discussions about Medievalism in several volumes. Volume 3, dealing with the limits of Aesthetics, or Aesthetics beyond the Beautiful, addresses the phenomena of ugliness and obscenity in medieval literature, with contributions by Jauss, Taubes, and Stempel. With Jauss having spoken about the Christian justification of ugliness in literature (sufferings of the martyrs, punishments of the sinners, etc.), Fuhrmann then leads a discussion about the notion of a 'Christian Aesthetics'. It tries to differentiate between a 'Canon of Immanence' which equates Beauty with Goodness and Ugliness with Evil, and a 'Canon of Transcendence' which inverts the relations and sees true Goodness under ugly appearances; what is properly Christian and medieval is the spread and justification of the Canon of Transcendence. Other participants support the idea that medieval Aesthetics remains much

31. Hans-Robert Jauss, 'Epilog auf die Forschungsgruppe "Poetik und Hermeneutik"', in *Kontingenz*, ed. by Gerhart von Graevenitz & Odo Marquard, *Poetik und Hermeneutik*, 17 (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1998), pp. 525-33.

indebted to Classical Antiquity, and Christian Aesthetics does not appear until the Philosophy of Idealism and Romanticism.

Volume 4 contains contributions by Herzog, Jauss and Warning on mythology and allegory in the Church Fathers and medieval literature and culture. Jauss shows that allegorical poetry was the means for a renewal of Ancient mythology, because it gave flesh and blood to personifications; it also gave birth to new myths, such as the goddess Natura. Warning considers the development of mythical phenomena from the originally orthodox Mysteries and Miracle plays.

Volume 12 provides theoretical points of view for the definition of historical periods or ages in general as well as reflections on the middle ages in particular. František Graus and Klaus Schreiner concentrate on the late middle ages. Walter Haug takes the motto 'Dwarfs on the shoulders of giants' in order to deal with several aspects of the consciousness of historical time in medieval culture and literature: Ancients and Moderns, tradition and innovation, the role of Christianity, Typology and History, etc.

In volume 17, Walter Haug, Joachim Küpper and Aleida Assmann discuss the subject of necessity and contingency, order and chance in medieval literature and thought. They agree that the ideas and literary expressions in this area went through significant changes in the passage from the middle Ages to modernity; however, they deal with different material and do not give the same explanations of those changes. Haug focuses on literary phenomena such as allegory, example and narrative game. Küppe analyses the Spanish play *Celestina* with some detail as an example of the modern consciousness of contingency in contrast to medieval mentality. Assmann looks at the relationship of order, fate and Fortuna in the works of Chaucer and Shakespeare, taking into account the ideas of Boethius.

Chivalric romances are dealt with in several volumes. Jauss and Gumbrecht discuss the development of a notion of 'fiction' related to these romances in contrast with history and epic poetry (volume 10). Walter Haug analyzes the ideal of a courtly society in the romances by Chrétien de Troyes, and discovers a balance of opposites in the ludic self-presentation: society appears as festival (volume 14); in a different mood, he considers the *Lancelot en prose* as the end of the Arthurian world and of the narrative style suitable to it (volume 16). Karlheinz Stierle analyzes the role of memory in the romances of Chrétien as a basis for the inwardness of the self (volume 15).

The works of Dante are naturally discussed in connection with ugliness, allegory and mythology in the aforementioned volumes 3 and 4, and the *Divina Commedia* is dealt with again in other volumes. Stierle discusses prob-

lems of individuality (vol. 13); Jauss proposes an interpretation focusing on the concept and consciousness of time and the role of memory in personal life (vol. 14); Wolfgang Kemp shows a structural coincidence of Saint Augustine, Dante and Giotto in the way they end their works with circles or returns to the beginning, so that ends appear as closures (vol. 16).

Other works

Jauss wrote a collection of essays on medieval issues, which was published in 1977 with the title *Alterität und Modernität der Mittelalterlichen Literatur*. The essays are arranged in four sections: 'Zur Tierdichtung', 'Zur allegorischen Dichtung', 'Zur Theorie der literarischen Gattungen' und 'Zur Literarästhetik'; since I have already discussed most of the contents in former sections, I shall not go into a detailed analysis here. The introduction, however, was new and deserves consideration³². It is an attempt to justify educational and research interest in medieval literature, once it has lost its place in the canon and stands far from the modern development of literary theory. Jauss proposes three grounds for justification: aesthetic pleasure, surprising otherness, and model character, based on the three hermeneutical steps of understanding, interpretation and application. Concerning the aesthetic perception, Jauss maintains that modern readers still enjoy the adventure, love, mystery and fantasy of medieval romance; however, other literary forms like legends, courtly lyric and allegory rather elicit displeasure. This leads to the necessity of reconstructing the world-model and the experiential horizon of medieval men and women. Such is the next step of perceiving the alterity or otherness through interpretation. Jauss especially addresses the otherness of the world-model (such as described by C. S. Lewis in *The Discarded Image*, for instance) and of the forms of life (studied in Arno Borst's *Lebensformen im Mittelalter*). Medieval literature, being so different, Jauss concludes, has a 'model character', i. e., it is a privileged field for the testing of theories and the development of interdisciplinary research. From this point on, Jauss outlines three areas where modernity in alterity via the aesthetic experience may best be perceived and become the object of further exploration: animal poetry, allegory, and the little genres of the exemplary. The section on literary genres is the most im-

32. 'Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur', *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur: Gesammelte Aufsätze 1956-1976* (München: Wilhelm Fink, 1977), pp. 9-47. English translation: 'The Alterity and Modernity of Medieval Literature', *New Literary History*, 10.2 (1979), 181-227.

portant from a theoretical point of view. Jauss, following Stempel and others, proposes to investigate a literary subsystem in terms of the components of textual communication and their possibilities of combination; to relate the sorts of texts so discovered to subuniverses of meaning and cognitive styles described by the Sociology of Knowledge; and to consider the actual manifestations of such sorts in history. Once again, Jauss is addressing a synthesis of the systematic and the historical approaches.

Jauss' *opus magnum* for literary theory is *Ästhetische Erfahrung und literarische Hermeneutik*. It was published in 1977; a new, more comprehensive edition appeared in 1982. Although the simultaneous compilation of *Alterität und Modernität* meant that essays on medieval works were excluded from this new book, it however refers to the middle ages in the discussion of theoretical issues, especially in the chapters on the history of aesthetic experience as production, reception and communication. In production, Jauss underlines the aspect of craftsmanship in medieval literature, and points to the beginnings of a consciousness of autonomy and creativity that would later become typically modern. In reception, he analyses the 'poetry of the invisible', that separates sense data from meaning; he sees in Petrarch the reconciliation of both by means of an inward journey. In the area of communication, medieval literature may aim at admiration of heroes and knights, edification, emotion and compassion, as well as at irony and distance in satirical fiction and poetry; there are also hints of the seduction of form that leads again to the autonomy of art. Besides, the enlarged 1982 edition includes a discussion of Dante's *Commedia* in the context of studies on the hermeneutics of question and answer³³.

From the points made about medieval reception and communication, Jauss could have started a reflection on differences between medieval and modern literary systems. In *Alterität und Modernität*, he states that there is continuity in the interest in adventure, love and mystery, whereas other elements of medieval literature – a highly conventionalized lyric poetry, allegory — have been lost or discredited. It should be added that adventure, love and mystery have also been undermined in Modernity, and so have also the attitudes of admiration, edification, and didacticism in a broad sense. They may be found in entertainment, but not in the so called high or serious literature. Thus, the elements being the same, their place in the system has changed. This

33. For a critical review of this section, see Hans Felten, 'Zur Frage in der Divina Commedia (Ein Missverständnis bei H. R. Jauss)', in *Dante Alighieri 1985: in memoriam Hermann Gmelin*, ed. R. Baum & W. Hirdt (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1985), 141-48.

could provide a further aspect to the 'model character' of medieval literature: we can find in it, with complete seriousness and full art, what is only trivial in our own literary context.

Conclusion

The work of Hans-Robert Jauss, together with the colleagues and disciples associated with him at Constance, in the *Grundriss* and in *Poetik und Hermeneutik*, may be said to have effected a manifold influence in the development of medievalist literary scholarship. First, Jauss promoted a widening of the canon, with his studies on animal poetry and allegorical poetry. Secondly, he collaborated in the theoretical and methodological updating of medievalism. Before him, such scholars as E. R. Curtius and Erich Auerbach had done very important work, but new concepts and paths were now needed in order to re-integrate medieval literature both in its own world and in ours. Thirdly, he promoted the integration of medievalism in interdisciplinary dialogue with History, Aesthetics and Philosophy, so that medieval texts and experiences could shed light on contemporary issues. Significant as these contributions are, they are still part of a greater commitment to the renewal of literary studies and to giving literature and university education and research a relevant role in society today.

Chronology

- 1921. Born in Göppingen (Baden-Württemberg, Germany).
- 1948. He begins studies in Romanic Philology in Heidelberg.
- 1957. Habilitation with a study on *Tierdichtung* (published in 1959).
- 1959. Foundation of the *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*.
- 1961. Professor of Romanic Philology in Giessen.
- 1963. Starts the research group *Poetik und Hermeneutik*.
- 1966. Professor at the University of Konstanz; starts the 'Bereich Literaturwissenschaft'.
- 1967 *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft*.
- 1977 *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur & Ästhetische Erfahrung und literarische Hermeneutik*.
- 1997 Jauss dies.

Selected bibliography

This bibliography includes items by Hans-Robert Jauss on medieval subjects and on theoretical issues of general interest, arranged in chronological order³⁴. The section of studies on Jauss includes some on his work as a theorist; they are alphabetically arranged.

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34. A full bibliographical record, including translations, may be found at <http://www.uni-konstanz.de/FuF/Philo/LitWiss/romanistik/literatur/personalia/jauss/index.html>

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Steven Runciman (1903 – 2000)

Luis García-Guijarro*

‘A man’s reputation within the world at large is usually at its lowest exactly a hundred years after his birth, especially in the realm of letters.’¹

‘Crusade Historian’: A Misjudgment of Runciman’s intellectual work

Steven Runciman was at his very roots quite a shy man who learned to disguise this trait under a thick layer of unobtrusive kindness which oiled his social relations while keeping them at an arm’s-length. At the same time he was, as a historian and also as an individual coming from the ruling British social circles, a well known and very much acclaimed public figure, not because he deliberately searched for popularity but rather because he had a more ‘democratic’ view of his own responsibilities as a historian than most academics, as he put it in an interview with his usual clarity². Runciman was a never ending reservoir of anecdotes and witty comments, which never were so acid as to become ungentle or impolite. In other people these comments would have just been boutades. They were certainly not in Runciman, perhaps because most of them sprang from his elegant and delicate way of dealing with his own shyness. He once asserted in a casual way that he had made Cambridge University Press to earn more money ‘than any author except God’³. It is true

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1. George M. Trevelyan, ‘George Meredith, 1828-1928’, *The Nation and Athenaeum*, 11 February 1928, p. 713. Quoted in David Cannadine, *G. M. Trevelyan: A Life in History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1998), p. xi; original edition (London: HarperCollins, 1992).

2. ‘I know I am terribly in disgrace with the Crusading historians... These historians are very recondite, I think, and have a snobbish and undemocratic view of history. I, in my old-fashioned way, am much more democratic’: David Plante, ‘Profiles: Historian [Steven Runciman]’, *The New Yorker*, 3 November 1986, p. 77. This interview intertwined with comments of the author of the profile is by far the best approach to Sir Steven Runciman’s life, personality and work as a historian.

3. Quoted in Anthony Bryer, ‘James Cochran Stevenson Runciman, 1903-2000’, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 120, *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows*, II (Oxford: Oxford Uni-

that this historian was a mine of gold for the academic press from the 1950s to the 1980s. This success, unheard of in British history writing -even George Macaulay Trevelyan stood behind in spite of his immensely successful *English Social History* released by Longmans in 1944- was mainly due to the publication at Cambridge in three volumes between 1951 and 1954 of *A History of the Crusades*. This work marked Runciman's intellectual appreciation by the cultured general reader up to a point where his name became closely associated with the study of the expeditions to *Outremer*, which took place between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries.

The diffusion of this book was not restricted to the English-speaking world; it spread to other cultural milieus through translations to the major and minor European languages. The first rendering was done in Spanish in 1956-1958, immediately after the entire work had appeared; the last until this moment has been the Portuguese version of the three volumes done in Brazil in the years 2002-2003⁴. The fact that a voluminous work about a remote medieval expansionist move published fifty years before was attractive enough to be translated in the New World says much about its intrinsic intellectual appeal, and also about the interest that it still arouses in an international audience, which faces different problems from those of the early 1950s but which sees in Runciman's book a way to understand the roots of present difficulties in a learned and at the same time accessible way. Many, perhaps too many, histories of the crusades have appeared since 1951. None of its authors has been able to move Runciman out of the place of honour that the general public awards him. Permanence is thus one of the main assets of this work. The reasons for its long life, which has not yet come to an end, will be dealt in further detail later on.

versity Press, 2003), p. 367; also published in *Byzantine Style, Religion and Civilization in Honour of Sir Steven Runciman*, ed. by Elizabeth M. Jeffreys (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. xli. This book includes a very complete bibliography of the historian in pp. xx-xxxviii which has been compiled by Judith Gilliland. A short biography of Steven Runciman is provided by Averil Cameron, 'Runciman, Sir James Cochran Stevenson [Steven] (1903-2000)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography [ODNB]* ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/74911>.

4. *Historia de las Cruzadas*, 3 vols. (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1956-8); *História das Cruzadas*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Imago Editora, 2002-3). It has also been translated into German, Italian, French, Greek, Polish and Hungarian; for the full reference of these and other translations of Runciman's books see the exhaustive bibliography compiled by Judith Gilliland (see above n. 3).

The general association of Runciman's name with the crusading journeys to the Near East has had the negative effect of uprooting him from his true intellectual setting. His historian's sign of identity, as it had happened earlier on with René Grousset, was not confined to the limited circle of the crusades; in fact, it was far away from it. The French scholar was an expert on Far Eastern Asiatic cultures, but, as Runciman's, Grousset's name became linked outside his native country to his *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, a pro-French colonialist vision of the crusader movement⁵. Runciman's vocation was Byzantium, a concept that he extended well beyond 1453 and related since that date to the Greeks -the Phanariots- who lived under Ottoman rule in Istanbul or in the periphery of the empire⁶. He was very critical of late eighteenth century and nineteenth century Greek nationalism which rooted the new nation's identity in the classical world and not in the most real and recent Byzantine legacy; he reserved his most bitter attacks to Adamantios Korais (1748-1833), 'that monster Korais', who was the intellectual promoter of the philhellenic movement from his comfortable abode in Paris⁷.

Runciman has not been the only byzantinist to venture into a general view of the crusades. Cécile Morrison did it years later in the collection *Que sais-je?*, in an entirely new version of the volume originally written by René Grousset⁸. But Runciman's treatment of the subject was not only more detailed, but also mainly more radical. His approach to the crusades was so neatly biased towards the Oriental Greeks that he considered the crusading movement an evil which destroyed the Christians in the Arab world and affected Byzantium very negatively. According to him 'the sack of Constantinople [by the Latins] is unparalleled in history' and 'there was never a greater crime against humanity than the Fourth Crusade' which shattered Byzantium to a point from

5. R. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, 3 vols. (Paris: Plon, 1934-6). The title of the concluding chapter of the volume that he wrote for the *Que-sais-je?* collection in 1944 reflected his point of view in a perfect way: 'Les Croisades, première colonisation européenne', in *Les Croisades*, new ed. in the collection *Quadrige* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1994), p. 122.

6. Robert F. Forrest has been a historian, who well away in space, time and themes from Runciman's topics, has acknowledged the fact that he was primarily a byzantinist: 'Runciman, Steven 1903-: British historian of Byzantium', in *Encyclopaedia of Historians and Historical Writing*, 2, ed. Kelly Boyd (London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1999), p. 1023.

7. Plante, *Profiles*, pp. 63-4.

8. C. Morrison, *Les croisades* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969). For Grousset's text, see above n. 5.

which it never fully recovered⁹. The final sentence which closed the third volume of his monumental work, and which reminds us of eighteenth-century criticism, summarized his idea that the crusades were a Bad Thing¹⁰; they had been 'a long act of intolerance in the name of God, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost'¹¹. This claim, deprived of his religious connotations and deeply secularized in consequence, would be prevalent among many multiculturalist light intellectuals, who do not know the real meaning Runciman had given to it: by striking a fatal blow to the Oriental Christians and Byzantium the crusades had erased Christianity from the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean. To a person who regarded Greece as his 'second country' this was an unforgivable sin¹².

Family Background, the Cambridge Years and Runciman's Travels

A History of the Crusades was a major landmark but not a turning point in Runciman's intellectual career. After 1954 all his books and most of his lectures were related to Byzantium, to religious history or to exotic entrées into Oriental modern history. The long lasting passion of Sir Steven was Byzantium and the crusades were submitted to that devotion for the Medieval Greek world. It was at Trinity College, Cambridge, where Runciman turned his classicist Etonian educational background into a field which, by no means a desert in modern British historiography, was far from popular: Byzantium¹³. Later on Sir Steven would blame Edward Gibbon for the negative imprint on post classical Greeks. Gibbon's consideration that the fall of the Empire had ruined Roman and Greek civilization implied a lack of positive treatment of developments in Constantinople during the Middle Ages¹⁴. Runciman's leaning towards a peripheral field of study among British historians was undoubt-

9. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 123 and 130.

10. For a brief explanation of the criticisms of David Hume, William Robertson and Edward Gibbon, see Elizabeth Siberry, *The New Crusaders: Images of the Crusades in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 1-3.

11. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3, p. 480.

12. S. Runciman, *A Traveller's Alphabet: Partial Memoirs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), p. 89.

13. A perceptive analysis of the social and political role of historical studies at Cambridge and other English universities at the time when Steven Runciman went to Trinity is offered by Reba N. Soffer, *Discipline and Power: The University, History and the Making of an English Elite, 1870-1930* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994).

14. Plante, *Profiles*, p. 64.

edly favoured by his deep and sound educational background and markedly by his mastering of a considerable number of languages, ancient and modern. John Bagnell Bury, Regius professor of Modern History at Cambridge and his tutor, was not keen on students neither accessible to them. When the young historian to be approached him in 1924, Bury, the leading scholar in Classical and Byzantine studies at that time in Britain, was impressed by his knowledge of Russian and decided to command him work that needed at least reading knowledge of Bulgarian which proved to be no difficulty for a man who was confident in so many languages at such a young age¹⁵. This excellent background leads us into Runciman's early formative years as a child and, consequently, to his own family.

The Runcimans were a clear expression of the very dynamic and enterprising character of British history in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. Starting almost from scratch, several generations from both sides of the family passed through what might be considered well established stages for newcomers to the upper classes in the context of the deep transformation of British society as a result of the several processes of industrialization that the country underwent since the last decades of the eighteenth century: industrial or commercial activities, economic stability, acquisition of considerable wealth and social status, entry into politics and, finally, cultural excellence. These were all necessary phases and they are clearly perceived in this family. Sir Steven's paternal grandfather, Walter Runciman, was very much related to the sea from his birth. His father was in the coast-guard service, and he himself ran away from home when he was twelve to employ himself as a sailor on vessels of all kinds until he managed decades later to become a shipowner and eventually to run a very profitable shipping company¹⁶. A sound economic and social base had been attained to allow his son of the same name to study at Trinity College, Cambridge, and enter politics as Member of Parliament for the Liberal Party when he was only twenty-eight. From then on until the outbreak of the Second World War he was cabinet minister several times; one of his last missions was the unsuccessful mediation in Prague in 1938 between the government of the Republic of Czechoslovakia and the Sudeten German party¹⁷.

15. Ibid., p. 69; Runciman, *A Traveller's Alphabet*, p. 15.

16. A. E. Johnstone, 'Runciman, Walter, first Baron Runciman (1847-1937)', rev. D. M. Cregier, in *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35867>.

17. Martin Pugh, 'Runciman, Walter, first Viscount Runciman of Doxford (1870-1949)', in *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35868>.

Hilda Runciman, Sir Steven's mother, had a similar background. The wealth of her family went back to the cotton mills until her father switched to a business enterprise which required a higher scientific input and expressed a more sophisticated stage of industrialization: the chemical industry. She also went to Cambridge (Girton College) and obtained a First class honours in history in 1890. Hilda married Walter Runciman in 1898 and was also very active in politics in the Liberal Party. She briefly held a seat in the House of Commons in 1928-1929 at the same time as her husband, being thus the first couple to be Members of Parliament at the same time¹⁸. Sir James Cochran Stevenson, the full Christian name of Steven Runciman, was born in 1903; he was Walter's and Hilda's second son and third of five children. The fact that he was not the first male liberated him of many patrimonial responsibilities and he was extremely glad of it. Runciman was unusually attached to his family as the dedication of many of his works attests. *Byzantine Civilization*, one of his earliest publications, was dedicated to his paternal grandfather; the last book publicly printed, *A Traveller's Alphabet*, a very idiosyncratic autobiography, to his great nephew and great nieces, as if he wanted to show them that travelling was an extremely enriching experience. In between, both his father and mother and his two living sisters were given due attention. For instance, the three volumes of his magnum opus on the crusades were dedicated the first one to his mother and the subsequent two to Ruth Bovill and Katharine Farrer which were his two younger sisters' married names; the eldest, Margaret, had died in 1944¹⁹.

Steven Runciman's wealth was well grounded on both sides of his family: 'Riches should come as a reward for hard work, preferably one's forebears', he remarked in another of his witty comments included in his *Partial Memoirs*, a book which was so much centred on Sir Steven's passion for travelling that its chapters were arranged in alphabetical order and devoted to places that the historian had visited and that had impressed him for some reason or another²⁰. As the title indicates, it was a traveller's book rather than an autobiography, and the author warned the reader about this point in the Prologue: 'My intention is only to record my own experiences in a number of places to which curiosity or circumstances beyond my own control have taken me, in the hope

18. Martin Pugh, 'Runciman, Hilda, Viscountess Runciman of Doxford (1869-1956)', in *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48691>.

19. Runciman, *A Traveller's Alphabet*, p. 209.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

that they may serve to encourage or to warn travellers of the future'²¹. From the letter 'A', obviously assigned to Mount Athos -he became president of the Friends of Mount Athos since that association was established in 1992, and that inaccessible monastic compound was the last place he visited only a few months before his death in November 2000- to the 'Z' of Zion and the ad-dendum of Ampersand, the author's recollections did not follow a chronological pattern. Places were paramount and Runciman recalled his life in relation to them in an impressionist way rather than in a strict narrative of personal circumstances. However, after reading the last two pages devoted to Spain and finishing the book, it is the man who stands in the forefront, not the well known or exotic sites he had visited over his long life. The chronologically disordered biographical information, masterfully presented and written, helps the reader to understand the historian's rich personality much better than a neatly arranged succession of yearly events and comments. A soft and sometimes devastating irony is always present. One of my favourite pieces is his treatment of André Malraux, who had preceded him in visiting the ruins of Angkor, the capital of the Khmer empire in Cambodia, in 1938:

'[The *conservateur* of the site] explained that a few months previously,..., there had come by night a car driven by a Communist writer called Malraux who earned his living by collecting antiques for an unscrupulous dealer. He had made off with a number of carved stones that he had torn off the building. He was caught and was in prison now for theft... M. Malraux was later to make his name, deservedly, as a novelist, and, when he had repented from his Communism, he was to become General de Gaulle's Minister of Culture and to write books telling us how we should look upon art'²².

But it was not only wealth that his family had left him. Such talented parents also offered him the sort of private elitist education that the higher British classes provided their children. Before entering the Preparatory School at Summer Fields (Oxford), as his father had done decades before, a competent governess had taught him French at the age of three, and Latin and Greek at the ages of six and seven. His mother considered that that was not enough and arranged for a Russian lady to introduce his son to the language when he was just eleven. Social background and this thorough upbringing led him to Eton on a scholarship in 1916. Runciman's ill health forced him to spend much time away from the school and attend only the end of term examinations on many occasions. At Eton he met Eric Blair, better known later as George

21. Ibid., p. 7.

22. Ibid., p. 26.

Orwell, to whom he was very close for some years though eventually he came to get bored with what he called 'the Orwell industry'²³.

Steven Runciman went to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1921. He combined his studies in these years as undergraduate with social life at King's College and with contacts with the Bloomsbury circle. Although a little extravagant himself, he did not feel totally at ease with that iconoclast group of intellectuals, as years before had happened with George Macaulay Trevelyan, a far more austere personality than Runciman was²⁴. After this brilliant student obtained a double First in 1924, he stayed in Cambridge for research under the supervision of Bury, but flu and his subsequent trip to China for complete recovery in 1925 delayed his academic plans. A letter sent to his brother from Tientsin in December of that year shows how precisely he had understood the intricate elements of the Manchurian crisis that was taking place at that time, of which he must have presumably known little until he reached Chinese territory, and how beautifully and clearly he explained the situation²⁵. These lines written in a casual way by a young man of twenty-two were a proof of his acute intelligence to grasp present or past events and of his brilliant narrative skills; these two were the basic pillars on which stood all his future historical works.

The trip round-the-corner to China in 1925-1926, which allowed Runciman by a twist of fate to play piano duets with the young emperor at Tientsin, had not been his first contact with long-distance travelling²⁶. By that time he had already visited with his family the Scandinavian countries, Germany and above all France, from where his father, a cabinet minister, had to rush back to Britain in May 1910 at the news of King Edward's VII death. As befitted a man with personal as well as business relation to ships, his grandfather had a yacht and on it a very young Runciman made his first trip in 1907. His earliest approach to Istanbul was by sea yachting with his parents in 1924²⁷. In all these voyages the young Steven met prominent and interesting people who shaped his mind in a way that books and formal learning had not, and above all who helped him to deal successfully with his inborn shyness. The older historian could not be conceived without his travelling passion; these frequent contacts with other cultures complemented at a much younger age his thorough early

23. Plante, *Profiles*, p. 69.

24. Bryer, 'James Cochran Stevenson Runciman', p. 377; Cannadine, *G. M. Trevelyan*, pp. 39-45.

25. Bryer, 'James Cochran Stevenson Runciman', p. 373.

26. Plante, *Profiles*, p. 72.

27. Runciman, *A Traveller's Alphabet*, pp. 38-9, 50-1 and 55.

education and provided that cosmopolitan character and breadth of mind that were one of Sir Steven's main assets and which added significant traits to his own personality as a historian²⁸.

When Runciman returned to Cambridge in 1926 Bury was too ill to advise him in his research; he died a year later. The postgraduate historian had to write the fellowship thesis without any real supervising; 'I became an autodidact', he said much later²⁹. He submitted it in 1927 and in the same year he became a fellow of Trinity College without lecturing responsibilities at the beginning. That privileged situation allowed him to concentrate on writing three books which leaned heavily on his previous research on Byzantine history. In 1929, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus* appeared; it was based on his fellowship dissertation. The theme about an usurping emperor who lived in the second quarter of the tenth century had been suggested by Bury and Runciman converted it into *A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium*, which covered from Armenia and the Caucasus to Byzantine Italy³⁰. It was the author's first published work but it already showed his remarkable ability to set individuals in a much wider context. It also revealed the young historian's wonderful talent for making history readable.

A year later, Runciman's extensive research for his dissertation resulted in another book: *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, the state that had menaced Byzantium from the late seventh century until its final annexation by the Byzantines at the beginning of the eleventh century³¹. The obstacles to make such a complicated theme attractive to the general reader were overcome by the author. A comment by J. H. Baxter at the *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature* stressed this point: '...the subject is difficult and comparatively new, but the author has combined scholarly qualities with a narrative gift not too

28. The anonymous obituary which appeared at *The Daily Telegraph* on 2 November 2000 and that written by Nigel Clive at *The Guardian* on 3 November 2000 coincided in describing him as 'historian, aesthete and traveller'. Giles Constable joined both his business family past and his love of travelling in the title that he chose for the obituary which he devoted to him: 'Sailing to Byzantium: Sir Steven Runciman, 1903-2000', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 2 February 2001, pp. 14-15; published also in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 147 (2003), pp. 96-101.

29. Plante, *Profile*, p. 69.

30. S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign: A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929).

31. S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1930); translated into Bulgarian in 1993.

common in works of such learning'³². Already at this very early stage Runciman's way of dealing with history was reminiscent of a long standing tradition in British historiography. In the review of Sir Steven's two first books *The Times* perceived that 'many happy flashes both of inspirations and phrasing, show that he has studied his Gibbon to good effect'³³. For the reasons exposed above, Runciman became critical of him on account of Byzantium, but he belonged to the same historiographical family and thought that Gibbon was 'the greatest of our historians'³⁴.

The deep and wide research that the newcomer to the academic sphere had undertaken since the mid-1920s had already produced two monographic books. His third work, *Byzantine Civilization*, published in 1933 and dedicated to his paternal grandfather, was a résumé of eight years of detailed study about the Christian oriental empire³⁵. It is quite astonishing that such an ambitious book, which attempted to give a general survey of that world from 330 to 1453, could be undertaken by a scholar who had not reached his thirties. This splendid piece of work is also a clear evidence of the fact that from the very start Runciman did not figure himself as a historian pigeon-holed in specialized studies. Tenth century Byzantium and the northern periphery of the empire had given him enough insight on the character of the Eastern Greek civilization to feel ready to write a synthesis for the general public which was concentrated on the qualities that differentiated the Byzantines from the Latin West. In the casual way Sir Steven used to employ when referring about his past later in life, he commented that 'this [book] was simply writing what I already knew'³⁶. It is obvious that in the previous decade he had managed to process an incredible amount of knowledge in such a clear way as to make it accessible to non-specialists.

From 1932 Runciman began to have teaching responsibilities as a lecturer at Trinity College. He tutored Guy Burgess, one of the famous Soviet spies of the Cambridge circle, an acquaintance which became useful later, at the beginning of the Second World War. Lecturing did not prevent the historian from travelling. In these years he went several times to Bulgaria and Constantinople.

32. *Annual Bulletin of Historical Literature*, 20 (1932), p. 31. I owe this point to Dr. Alan Murray.

33. Quoted in the anonymous obituary at *The Times*, 2 November 2000.

34. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), p. xiii.

35. Steven Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization* (London: Edward Arnold, 1933); translated into French, Spanish, Italian, German, Greek and Portuguese.

36. Plante, *Profiles*, p. 72.

But the teaching experience was short-lived. His paternal grandfather's death in 1937 put in his hands a considerable amount of money and made him non-dependent on salary. The following year he resigned from his post at Cambridge and established himself for life as an independent scholar, a fact that has annoyed some academics ever since, though few would recognize the reason for their dislike of Runciman: he had become rich. It is true that some of his later comments did not help to bridge the gap with the bureaucratic type of university historians. When visiting Baghdad in the mid-1950s he argued in vain against the necessity of a doctorate to become a professor before the committee which was drawing the regulations for a new university. He informed the officials that the degree of Ph.D. had only been introduced to Oxford and Cambridge in the 1920s to lure rich Americans who would not cross the Atlantic without the final goal of a title³⁷. Two decades earlier, while still lecturing at Trinity, he attended the International Byzantine Conference held in Bulgaria. His later comments about it were devastating: 'as with all international congresses, too many people were allowed to talk for too long'³⁸. Titles and congresses, the two pillars that for decades have maintained a self-built respect for academics, were shattered to pieces. Thus, it causes no surprise that Steven Runciman is not respected in many university circles nowadays, at a time when this institution has become a world apart and its personnel has almost grown everywhere into an endogamous nomenklatura with little projection beyond its boundaries. The fact that Sir Steven appealed to a wider section of society than the standard academic and was much successful in his undertaking did and does not favour either his appreciation by many historians.

Steven Runciman and George Macaulay Trevelyan: Clio, a Muse

Steven Runciman always related that his detachment from university, which was made feasible by a substantial inheritance, was advised to him much earlier by George M. Trevelyan at the dinner commemorating his fellowship dissertation in 1927³⁹. Trevelyan, who belonged to a patrician, landed family of long historical and great intellectual standing - Thomas Macaulay was his great uncle to whom he owed his middle name -, had renounced in 1903 the fellowship that he enjoyed at Trinity since 1898. He only returned to Cambridge in 1927 as Regius professor of Modern History, a post that was

37. Runciman, *A Traveller's Alphabet...*, p. 174.

38. Ibid., p. 18.

39. Bryer, 'James Cochran Steven Runciman', p. 366.

vacant after Bury's death early in that year⁴⁰. Runciman always admired Trevelyan. In 1958 Runciman dedicated his book, *The Sicilian Vespers*, to Trevelyan, with the expressive words 'in admiration, gratitude and friendship'⁴¹. They both shared the view that history, a kind of art not deprived of what are now called basic scientific methods, should be made accessible to the common public through clear and brilliant writing. It is thus not strange that they enjoyed a wide audience and popularity. In fact, Runciman was among the few who followed Trevelyan's path at a time when the dry scientific approach to history had already become dominant. No wonder that the former has suffered the same kind of almost unanimous bitter and generally unfounded criticism as his intellectual predecessor and mentor. No wonder either that their pivotal contributions to widen the scope of readers of great quality history are ignored nowadays by a significant part of the academia⁴².

Both families, the Trevelyans and the Runcimans, had deep roots in Northumberland and had been in close contact for decades. Steven Runciman's father and George M. Trevelyan's brother, Sir Charles, were actively involved in politics in the radical wing of the Liberal Party as well as close friends⁴³. As an adolescent, Runciman visited Wallington Hall, the Trevelyans' country residence, where George Otto Trevelyan, the historian's father, could not avoid expressing a very Whiggish type of satisfaction at the sight of the impressive central saloon: 'My boy, man has not achieved anything more beautiful than this'⁴⁴.

The Second World War: Runciman's Posts in the Near East and his Growing Interest in the Crusades

The short interval between Steven Runciman's departure from lecturing activities and the beginning of the Second World War was spent by the his-

40. Cannadine, *G. M. Trevelyan*, pp. 14 and 16.

41. Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), p. v.

42. A recent study on British twentieth-century historiography on Byzantium gives only cursory reference to Runciman, disregarding his remarkable ability to match high intellectual standards with accessibility to educated but non academic readers: Margaret Mullett, 'Byzantine Scholarship: Twelfth-Century Constantinople, Twentieth-Century Britain', in *A Century of British Medieval Studies*, ed. by Alan Deyermond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 201-34.

43. An example of this in Cannadine, *G. M. Trevelyan*, p. 61.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 2 (caption of Wallington's central saloon) and 11.

torian in Cochin-China, former name of present-day Vietnam. He came back ill and thus unfitted for the Armed Forces, though his former pupil Guy Burgess managed to prevent his talent to be wasted at that delicate time. Through his efforts Runciman was sent as press attaché to Sofia in July 1940. The fact that he had knowledge of Serbo-Croatian and Rumanian, and even better of Bulgarian was decisive at such important post. He had to leave Bulgaria when the Germans took control of it in early 1941; he then worked for the British government at Cairo and Jerusalem until the beginning of 1942. Part of the task commended to him in this last city under the official title of Assistant Public Information Officer was to keep contact with the different religious communities, a mission most suited to a person who, although to all purposes a not *practiquant* in spite of having been brought up as a Scottish Calvinist and of his deep attachment to Orthodoxy, considered that 'religion is a necessary part of the human condition' and that he 'loved the study of religions', to which many of his later works were devoted⁴⁵.

By the time he was in Jerusalem, Runciman had already decided to write about the crusades. His presence in Palestine from July 1941 to the first months of 1942 undoubtedly helped him to have a personal contact with the terrain which the Latins occupied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Earlier on, in 1938, Runciman's second visit to Damascus had permitted him to retrace Thomas Edward Lawrence's tour of the crusader castles, and to recollect the disagreement of one French archaeologist at the castle of Sayun with some of the latter's figures presented in his famous book, a product, he thought, rather of guesswork than of thorough measurement⁴⁶. Sir Steven's longer stay in Turkey between 1942 and 1945 allowed him to have first hand knowledge not just obviously of the remnants of his beloved Byzantium but also of the routes of Asia Minor that were crossed by many crusader hosts.

Runciman was appointed Professor of Byzantine History and Art at the University of Istanbul in the early spring of 1942 by the Minister of Education

45. Plante, *Profile*, p. 75; Bryer, 'James Cochran Stevenson Runciman', p. 372.; John Connell, *The House by Herod's Gate* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., c. 1946), p. 133. The title of this book refers to the house that Runciman had rented in the northern part of Jerusalem outside the city wall. John Connell, pseudonym of the biographer and journalist John Henry Robertson, took on the lease when Runciman left for Istanbul at the beginning of 1942, and made the house one of the focal points of the memoirs he wrote about the year he spent in Palestine as a British official.

46. Runciman, *A Traveller's Alphabet*, p. 31. The dates are a little muddled. Runciman's journey took place in 1938 and he mentioned in the book that he had met Lawrence many years later. But T. E. Lawrence died in 1935.

of Turkey at the request of İsmet İnönü, President of the Republic, who was appalled by the fact that no one in the country knew about Byzantium, a part of the history of the land that was enhanced by the laicized rulers of the young republic who were in power since Atatürk seized it in 1923⁴⁷. For political purposes the Byzantine centuries were a useful balance to the Ottoman rule which the new regime was keen on dismantling. For three years Sir Steven lectured in English, though seminars and examinations were in Turkish, a language that such an able linguist soon managed to learn. This was his last formal post in university education. In spite of the dampish climate of Istanbul, which affected his always frail health, he thoroughly enjoyed a relatively long sojourn at the centre of the civilization he had devoted his intellectual life to. At the sight of the appalling routes of Asia Minor and of other important sites further south his desire to work on the crusades was not only kept alive but grew stronger⁴⁸. Most crusade historians have written on their topic without first hand deep knowledge of the regions and places they were dealing with, an intellectual attitude which following their own strictures on the way History should be made is quite unscientific, unless science, in this and other cases, is deliberately limited to the use of preconceived theories backed by ad hoc archival material. The opposite happened to Runciman: a deep acquaintance with the sites and the routes increased his interest in a topic closely related to Byzantium. His dictum that a battle cannot be understood unless you step the very ground the forces tramped is just another testimony of the fact that Sir Steven was not a *cabinet* historian. His superb knowledge of written sources and bibliography was not enough; a personal experience on the ground was necessary. In this, as in many other traits, he much resembled George M. Trevelyan, who became personally acquainted with the routes and places that Garibaldi followed and visited before writing the trilogy on him⁴⁹.

The Making of a Classic: The History of the Crusades

The study on the crusades had to wait a few years, however. When the Second World War ended Runciman was offered to direct the British Council at Athens, which he did between 1945 and 1947. That last year he returned to Britain and gave final form to a book he had started before the war: a study

47. Ibid., pp. 58-9.

48. Ibid., p. 62.

49. Cannadine, *G. M. Trevelyan*, p. 148.

of Manichaean dualist heresies from the Paulicians in Armenia and the Bogomils in Bulgaria to the Albigensians⁵⁰. It was his first deliberate approach to religious history; he chose for it movements at the very outer margins of Christianity which usually crossed the frontier into heresy. His studies on Byzantium in the tenth century and of the first Bulgarian empire must have brought the historian in contact with Paulicianism and Bogomilism, and marked the potential of a full study of dualist religious conceptions which he extended to the twelfth and early thirteenth century Languedoc and Provençal Cathars. Orthodoxy and heresy raised the question of tolerance and its limits. As it had happened in his previous books, such a dry topic was made intelligible for the common reader. The brilliant narrative was not an aim in itself; it served the purpose of attracting people to a complex theme disentangling complexities in an apparently easy way. Clio as a Muse was not confronted with outmost intellectual rigour⁵¹.

At the time when Runciman's first book on religious history *sensu stricto* was being published he started proper work on his long cherished project on the crusades. This monumental synthesis was written part in London and part in the Scottish Isle of Eigg, which his father had bought in 1926 and left to his two sons jointly when he died in 1949 apart from the house in it which he bequeathed entirely to Steven, the younger of the two. Eigg was a small Hebridean island ten miles off the western coast of Scotland. It was a remote place, cut off from the rest of the world in rough weather but suitable for writing because there was nothing else to do, as David Plante rightly pointed out⁵². The required books were duly posted by the London Library, so there was quietness and a store of knowledge at hand. It was definitely the suitable spot to develop the ambitious plan of a full scale history of the crusades which should be rigorous, but at the same time accessible to a wider public than the academic world. The necessity of an overall view of such an important topic had been in the minds of many historians during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1938 John L. La Monte warmly endorsed Frederick Duncalf's previous idea of a collective work to be made by Dana C. Munro's former students. The backing of Duncalf's wish to honour Munro, whose aim had been to write such a work himself but never accomplished it before his death in 1933, eventually led to

50. Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947). The work has been translated to French, German, Spanish and Polish.

51. 'Clio: a Muse' is one of Trevelyan's most well known essays: G. M. Trevelyan, *Clio, a Muse and Other Essays Literary and Pedestrian* (London: Longmans, 1913), pp. 1-55.

52. Plante, J., *Profiles*, p. 77.

the so called Pennsylvania/Wisconsin *History of the Crusades* which appeared between 1955 and 1989⁵³. Also in the 1930s, precisely between 1934 and 1936, René Grousset had summed up the general opinion of French historiography on the topic, emphasizing the role of the Franks up to the point of identifying the crusades with the successes and failures of their actions in the Levant, as the subtitles of the different volumes of the *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem* show with outmost clarity⁵⁴.

Runciman's attempt was in tune with some historiographical tendencies at that time. His idea meant no real intellectual novelty against this background, but its results undoubtedly did. The differences with the American project were highlighted in the preface of the first volume of *A History of the Crusades* which came out at Cambridge in 1951. The short preface of just under three pages was a brilliant summary of the historiography on the subject, as well as of Runciman's idea of history. He was very much aware of the plans of his American colleagues, who had worked so thoroughly in the previous decades spurred by the leadership first and later by the memory of Munro, but he saw undeniable advantages in a work which was the product of just one mind. With the usual witty tone which characterized him he commented:

‘It may seem unwise from one British pen to compete with the massed typewriters of the United States. But in fact there is no competition. A single author cannot speak with the high authority of a panel of experts, but he may succeed in giving to his work an integrated and even an epical quality that no composite volume can achieve. Homer as well as Herodotus was a Father of History, as Gibbon, the greatest of our historians, was aware; and it is difficult, in spite of certain critics, to believe that Homer was a panel’⁵⁵.

The coherence derived from a single authorship assured also a common epical tone throughout, which was one of the most valued intellectual aims of this historian. The reverence for Gibbon, in spite of the strong disagreements over the latter's treatment of Byzantium, marked a path of doing history, far away

53. Kenneth M. Setton explained in the foreword to the first edition of vol. I of the Pennsylvania/Wisconsin *History of the Crusades* how the project originated and developed, and the key part played in it by John L. La Monte until his early death in 1949: *A History of the Crusades*, I, *The First Hundred Years*, ed. M. W. Baldwin, gen. ed. K. M. Setton, 2nd ed (Madison, Milwaukee, London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. xiv-xviii.

54. Vol. I, *L'anarchie musulmane et la monarchie franque* (Paris: Plon, 1934) ; vol. II, *Monarchie franque et monarchie musulmane. L'équilibre* (Paris: Plon, 1935) ; vol. III, *La monarchie musulmane et l'anarchie franque* (Paris: Plon, 1936).

55. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, I, pp. xii-xiii.

from the composite achievements of the American historians, even farther away from the then fifteen years old Grousset's *Histoire*. The epical history should be written with no intention to project into the past modern national sentiments. That standing in no way meant absence of a unifying thread. In the case of Runciman, the underlying motif was a deep sympathy for Byzantium and a parallel dislike for the westerners who had perturbed first and precipitated later the downfall of that civilization: '...the growing enmity between Eastern and Western Christendom reached its climax in the greatest tragedy of the Middle Ages, the destruction of Byzantine civilization in the name of Christ'⁵⁶.

Both Grousset's and Runciman's histories had three volumes and the chronological distribution was roughly similar, but the parallels between both works ended there. The *Histoire* was built around the balance of power between the Muslims and the Franks, as a historical precedent of the French control of Syria in the 1930s. That is why the book became outdated quite soon and has become valuable since for being little more than a distinguished historiographical reference to a certain epoch of imperial grandeur. Runciman had a far more detached outlook and concentrated on what was happening in Outremer without a presentist looking into the past. Apart from other virtues, this view has allowed the book to suffer less from the pass of time. While each of Grousset's volumes insisted in a rather simplistic dialectic between Muslim and Franks, or rather proto-French as he regarded them, Runciman concentrated on the First Crusade and the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem (volume I, 1951), on the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East (volume II, 1952) and on the Kingdom of Acre and the later Crusades (volume III, 1954). Both Grousset and Runciman approached the crusades from initial intellectual motivations which stood far away from the new object of study, but while the French historian aimed at a synthesis of prevailing historiographical French colonialist attitudes, Steven Runciman widened the scope by actively introducing the oriental Greek world in the treatment of the crusades without presenting the Latins in the Levant as forerunners of future European expansions. Grousset was at the end of a historiographical line, although he made a later imprint on colonialist views of the crusades, one of whose most relevant proponents was the Israeli historian Joshua Prawer for reasons directly related to the search of an identity for his own recently born country⁵⁷. On the other hand, Runciman added novel

56. Ibid., 3, p. xi.

57. J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1972).

perspectives and a new bias, in this case not in favour of the modern European nations but rather of Byzantium. René Grousset died in 1952, at a time when the British historian had not yet completed his ambitious work. The latter was well acquainted with the former's *Histoire*, which he considered that 'in the French tradition, combines wide learning with good writing and a touch of Gallic patriotism'⁵⁸. Differences of approach did not prevent the author from acknowledging that Grousset's 'broad vision and lively writing did much to elucidate the politics of Outremer and the Asiatic background'⁵⁹.

The divergent approaches of Grousset and Runciman to the crusades do not fully account for the recognition that their works received in entirely different circles. Grousset's work remained confined to the academia and echoed faintly beyond it; its popularity was limited to France. Runciman's book, in contrast, became a classic since its publication and reached a world audience beyond the close circuit of experts.⁶⁰ The key to understanding Runciman's favour within a wide-ranging public compared to many post-1954 works on the crusades, which in general are acclaimed only in academic circles, lies in the quality of Sir Steven's narrative, apparently simple, but actually brilliant, clear and elegant. The opening paragraphs of Grousset's introduction to the first volume, which dealt about William of Tyre's consideration of the crusades, were beautifully written in that polished manner that used to be common to French historians⁶¹. Runciman's initial lines in the first chapter of volume I announced a style which was altogether different. No reader can ever forget the vivid impression caused by the author's description of the Caliph Omar's entry in Jerusalem in February 638 riding on a white camel at the head of warriors, unclean and poorly clothed, and of the courteous reception by the Patriarch Sophronius who, at the sight of Omar at the Temple of Salomon broke, into tears while murmuring Saint Mathew's words: 'Behold the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the prophet'⁶². The drama of the loss

58. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1, p. xiii.

59. Ibidem, 3, p. xii.

60. It is significant that Grousset's *Histoire* has not been translated from French into any other language and that it had to wait until the 1990s to be reprinted with an appreciative foreword by Jean Richard. However, a resumé of his book had a wider diffusion in France and outside this country in translated versions: *L'épopée des croisades* (Paris: Plon, 1939). By the time Grousset's extensive work had been reprinted Runciman's book had been reedited in different formats on many occasions and rendered into many languages other than English.

61. Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades*, 1, pp. i-iv.

62. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1, p. 3.

of the sacred city, which would not be recovered until 15 July 1099, was expressed with utmost historical accuracy but also with an epical tone that highlighted the significance of the Arab control of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, not just for Byzantium, but also for the entire Christian world. Clear and vivid writing, as happened with Gibbon or with Macaulay, was not an end in itself; it was at the service of history, which in its turn greatly benefited from such intense narrative. 'What is important to remember about their [Gibbon's, Macaulay's, Carlyle's] styles is that they found them helpful to their processes of thought', the historian told David Plante⁶³.

Runciman's Conception of History

History or story? Runciman saw no difference between them. Most modern historians would be horrified at this identification, but Sir Steven thought that history was nothing more than telling stories with a unifying thread. The entry of the caliph in Jerusalem was a story that referred to a decisive moment in the history of the Mediterranean. The more vivid the story was presented the clearer the historical background would appear. Runciman was very explicit about it in the profile which David Plante wrote about him: 'I want to know what made the whole story happen. You see, historians are now terrified of telling a story, as though that were fiction, and not history. They forget that the word 'history' means 'story''⁶⁴. Historians are eager today to take refuge in the social sciences. The recourse to them, nowadays anthropology seems the most favoured, is a sign of intellectual respect. On the other hand literature is decried as fiction and, therefore, unscientific. Runciman thought otherwise: 'The division between history and literature is one of the wickedest results of the takeover of history by the Germans in the nineteenth century'⁶⁵.

This is the moment to examine Sir Steven's idea of history. The preface to the first volume of *A History of the Crusades* offers a short but clear insight of his thoughts about this issue. David Plante let him speak at length on this topic in the profile that he devoted to the historian. We have thus quite a close image of his thinking. A suitable approach to this question would be to ask whether Runciman regarded history a muse or a science, or relating it to personal intellectual influences on him whether he was following Trevelyan or Bury, whose inaugural lecture as Regius professor at Cambridge in January

63. Plante, *Profiles*, p. 78.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

65. *Ibid.*, p. 78.

1903 was precisely called : 'The Science of History'⁶⁶. This title clearly contrasted with 'Clio: a Muse', the first of a group of articles which were published under that title as a book by Trevelyan ten years later⁶⁷. In spite of an apparent deep disagreement, Runciman stated that 'their manifestos differ, but in point of fact there was little difference between [them]'⁶⁸. Sir Steven, though highly respecting Bury, was much nearer Trevelyan's proposition that history was an art which had its own rules, its own discipline, 'the discipline of recorded fact'. Runciman affirmed that 'unless the finished product is conceived of as a work of art it will not succeed in its purpose of enlightenment'⁶⁹. In consequence, he thought that the main goal of history was to instruct the many rather than to satisfy the intellectual ego of a few academics 'who often take refuge in learned articles or narrowly specialized dissertations, small fortresses that are easy to defend from attack'⁷⁰. He was coherent with his own maxim and immensely successful in achieving this end. His success is clearly measured by the fact that when he died in November 2000 twenty out of the twenty-seven books he had published over his entire life were still in print in English⁷¹.

It is difficult nowadays for the greatest part of academics to sympathize with Runciman's intellectual stand and even more difficult to partake in it. History is commonly regarded a social science and many historians, who are unsure of the intellectual value of their discipline, strive hard to be considered scientists. History is probably the art which has suffered most from the myth of science as the only gateway to knowledge. By pursuing that reductionist epistemological conception, which was coined in the nineteenth and much developed in the twentieth century, and which derived from the empirical 'hard' sciences, history has lost part of its traditional traits without acquiring the strong new scientific identity that it was aiming at. For instance, historians have been unable to develop a social theory of time, and time is the backbone of history. With all this intellectual background in mind most of them show the greatest lack of respect for narrative history, a concept which has been grossly misunderstood. They show even less appreciation for the idea that history is a work of art. These two misconceptions have grown out of two false assumptions:

66. J. B. Bury, 'The Science of History', in *Selected Essays of J. B. Bury*, ed. by H. Temperley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), pp. 3-22.

67. See above n. 51.

68. Plante, *Profiles*, p. 78. For a detailed treatment of the controversy between Trevelyan and Bury see Cannadine, *G. M. Trevelyan*, pp. 114-5.

69. Plante, *Profiles*, p. 78.

70. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 1, p. xiii.

71. Bryer, 'James Cochran Stevenson Runciman', p. 368.

that narrative history is sheer description with no purpose of explaining or evaluating events, and that style is just a literary garment with no incidence in the inner appreciation of the contents. The French historical school of *Annales* did much to spread these ideas over Western Europe and beyond. Runciman's trilogy *A History of the Crusades*, to choose just his most iconic work for the general public, proves these two assumptions wrong. The narrative is not in itself just a dry sequence of events; it gets into the meaning of them, whether we now agree with that significance or not. We may consider that Runciman's position was so strongly biased towards Byzantium that it totally missed the rationale of the crusading enterprise. But that is a disagreement on his conclusions, not about the solid character of his intellectual work. On the other hand, style forms an intrinsic part of Runciman's narrative thread and in consequence of the explanation of the 'stories' that he presented to his readers⁷².

The preceding discussion explains the reasons why present crusade historians do not appreciate Runciman's work. Their scientific outlook, shared by some byzantinists who likewise do not recognise Runciman, always finds missing or insufficiently treated aspects, lacking data, wrong evaluations. In one word, the book is outdated and as such has been deleted from many university bibliographies. Judged leniently, these considerations are short-sighted. What makes a certain work a classic is its inner permanent value as a coherent piece which provides a deep insight on a certain topic regardless of the fact that some details or conclusions might seem wrong to modern eyes. The treatment of the crusades by Steven Runciman fulfils these requirements, as does Edward Gibbon in relation to the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. *A History of the Crusades* is a mine of accurate information arranged in such a way that offers an understanding of the expeditions to Outremer, and written with a compelling force and beauty that supports and clarifies that understanding. Massive research has been done on Republican Rome since Theodor Mommsen wrote his *The History of Rome*; none would deny his work the rank of classic. With respect to level of genius, Steven Runciman's *A History of the Crusades* compares with Mommsen's work. Perhaps the time

72. The only indirect positive assessment of Runciman's *A History of the Crusades* in *A Century of British Medieval Studies* (see above n. 43) is hidden in Henry Mayr-Harting chapter on 'Ecclesiastical History' (p. 149). Janet L. Nelson, when dealing with the crusades while writing on 'European History' in the same work, mentions only Jonathan Riley-Smith and his students (p. 90). The fact that the book has been published by Oxford for the British Academy clearly shows the present general attitude of the British intellectual establishment towards Steven Runciman.

has come to turn on to the classics rather than to stick to the perverse maxim 'The latest, the best'.

Runciman's Contribution as an Independent Scholar

The year after Runciman published his third and final volume of *A History of the Crusades* he contributed with two papers to the session on 'L'idée de croisade' at the momentous X International Congress of Historical Sciences held in Rome. The themes he developed -the hostility of Byzantine provincials to the crusades with the exception of the Armenians and the decline of the crusading idea in the last quarter of the thirteenth century- were part of the core of his own intellectual stand towards the subject⁷³. When dealing in the second essay about the growth of a missionary spirit, his final words were as relevant to his global consideration of the crusades as those which closed the final volume of his recently concluded great work on the subject: 'One cannot but believe that the change was for the better; and, had it only occurred earlier, the world might have spared, much romance indeed, but much carnage, bitterness and misery'⁷⁴.

From the mid-1950s Steven Runciman's intellectual activity was much centred on lecturing all around the world at a scale that few historians, if any, had done before or have ventured to do afterwards. The intensity of this effort is just shown by one example. In 1965 he went to Australia and in less than two months he gave twenty lectures and held ten seminars in places scattered all over the main part of that continent⁷⁵. A significant part of these tours involved Runciman in ordering the immense knowledge that he had gathered over decades of study of the Greek eastern world or in new research on Byzantium. His main topics revolved about religion and its relation to political power. Many lectures were monographic sets which were published later on⁷⁶. Some of them

73. S. Runciman, 'The Byzantine provincial peoples and the Crusade', in *Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, 3, *Storia de Medioevo* (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1955), pp. 621-4; 'The decline of the Crusading idea', *ibid.*, pp. 637-52.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 652.

75. Runciman, *A Traveller's Alphabet*, pp. 121-5.

76. S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955) -based on the seven Waynflete Lectures delivered at the University of Oxford in 1954-; translated into Polish, Russian and French. *Idem*, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970) -based on the Wiles Lectures delivered at Belfast in 1968-; translated into Polish and Greek. *Idem*, *The Orthodox Church and the Secular State* (Auckland/Oxford: Auckland University Press/Oxford University Press, 1971) -based on the Robb Lectures given

became the basis of new books⁷⁷. Sir Steven had abandoned all university institutionalized lecturing after 1945, but instead he opened up his knowledge to a worldwide audience of students or educated listeners, and that meant that he was keen to transmit his wisdom, and that he did so in a less constrained and more effective way than the chair at a university would have allowed him. Runciman was in no way a dilettante and even less a *bon vivant*, as a Spanish reviewer recently portrayed him⁷⁸. He was a hard-working independent scholar who spent the last decades of his life at Elshieshields, the border tower on the Lowlands of Scotland, where he confined himself after the sale of the Isle of Eigg in 1966 and of his London house. He was also a very generous person ready to engage himself actively in the governing bodies of numerous cultural institutions from the British Museum to the National Trust for Greece⁷⁹.

Lectures did not absorb all Runciman's intellectual energies between the mid-1950s and his death in 2000. He devoted time and put much enthusiasm in books that have become classics. Among them is the study of the western Mediterranean in the second half of the thirteenth century focused on *The Sicilian Vespers*⁸⁰. His historical frame of mind, which is best expressed in answers to David Plante's questions, shows the most mature form in this book⁸¹. The 'whole story' and the 'large theme' are wonderfully represented

at the University of Auckland in September 1970-. Idem, *The Byzantine Theocracy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) -based on the six Weil Lectures given at the Weil Institute of Cincinnati in the autumn of 1973-; translated into Portuguese, Dutch, Polish, Greek and Russian.

77. The Gifford Lectures given by Runciman at the University of Saint Andrews in 1960 and 1961, and the Birbeck Lectures delivered at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1966 provided the material for the book *The Great Church in Captivity: A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), translated into German, Polish and Greek. The fact that Runciman relied basically on secondary Western references and not on the extant Patriarchal and Ottoman sources, as Bryer has pointed out, does not diminish the value of this pioneering work: Bryer, 'James Cochran Stevenson Runciman', pp. 375-6. This book was so much appreciated by the Patriarch of Constantinople that Runciman was conferred in 1969 the high dignity of Grand Orator of the Great Church of Constantinople.

78. Manuel Rodríguez Rivero, 'La Constantinopla "redondina" *ABCD las artes y las letras*, 4 November 2006, p. 11.

79. For a reference of some of the institutions where he had responsibilities, see Bryer, 'James Cochran Stevenson Runciman', pp. 378-9.

80. See above n. 41. This book has been translated into German, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Romanian, Polish, Hungarian and Greek.

81. 'We must have the whole story...Well, you must never be afraid of the large theme': Plante, *Profile*, p. 63.

in his treatment of the massacre of the French in Palermo on 30 March 1282: 'The massacre was one of those events in history which altered the fate of nations and of world-wide institutions. To understand its importance we must see it in its international setting...The canvas is wide; it has to stretch from England to Palestine, from Constantinople to Tunis'⁸². The other much acclaimed classic was his study of the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453⁸³. Although many new things could be said nowadays making use of the development of Ottoman studies, as Bryer rightly indicated, the work keeps its vividness and interest more than thirty years later to be translated into languages as remote as Korean⁸⁴. It might not be the most up to date piece of research on the subject but it is still by far the best and most popular account. This book showed once again how Runciman's writings were deeply appreciated by non specialists. Gore Vidal thought that 'it is a marvellous story, marvellously told' and stated that 'to read a historian like Sir Steven is to be reminded that history is a literary art quite equal to that of the novel'⁸⁵. Within the historical field, Anthony Beevor, who has devoted his research to a period well away from the Middle Ages, has just reminded the readers of *The Fall of Constantinople* that 'Runciman's description of events is magisterial...There is something about the tale of a siege...It is the very stuff of ancient legend, a moral lesson amid great disaster, and few have told it as well as Steven Runciman'⁸⁶.

Runciman's intellectual commitment to Byzantium was further expressed later in his life, when he was well into his seventies, in two different books. His early work on *Byzantine Civilization* had given scanty look at art, just a chapter of less than twenty-five pages. In 1975 he contributed to Penguin's Style and Civilization series with a book in which he dealt at some length with

82. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, p. xii.

83. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); this has been Runciman's most translated book; it has been rendered into eighteen languages: German, Polish, French, Italian, Japanese, Czech, Romanian, Turkish, Spanish, Greek, Dutch, Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Hungarian, Portuguese, Macedonian and Korean.

84. Bryer, 'James Cochran Stevenson Runciman', p. 375.

85. G. Vidal, 'Byzantium's Fall', in idem, *Reflections upon a Sinking Ship* (Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1969), pp. 158 and 159.

86. A. Beevor, 'The Greatest Tragic Drama of All Times (Prefatory Note)' in Sir Steven Runciman, *La caída de Constantinopla 1453* (Barcelona: Reino de Redonda, 2006) pp. 27 and 28. This is a new Spanish translation of *The Fall of Constantinople*; the first rendering was included in the prestigious 'Colección Austral' (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1973).

the characters of art in Constantinople in its different periods⁸⁷. In 1980 he set his eyes on a much more restricted topic, the town of Mistra which had been the most important Byzantine urban centre in the Peloponnese, or better in the Morea, the medieval name of the peninsula which Runciman much preferred⁸⁸. The history of the book was told by Sir Steven in his *Partial Memoirs*: it was the way to thank the town and his mayor for having dedicated a street in the urban centre to the historian and for having proclaimed him honorary citizen of that significant historical place in 1976⁸⁹.

No brief sketch of Runciman's intellectual work can ignore his various contributions to the general histories, first of all to those published by the University Press at Cambridge. In 1952, in the same year in which his second volume of *A History of the Crusades* appeared, he submitted an overview of the trade and industry in Byzantium to *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*; an updated version appeared in the second edition of the volume published thirty five years later⁹⁰. The couple of volumes on Byzantium of *The Cambridge Medieval History* that replaced the original single one which had appeared in 1923 reserved a place of honour to Runciman, who wrote an appreciation of what the Eastern Greek world had meant in the general context of the Middle Ages⁹¹. In spite of his comments in favour of a single authorship when dealing with the task of writing a history of the crusades, he participated in two volumes of the Pennsylvania/Wisconsin project⁹².

87. Runciman, *Byzantine Style and Civilization* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975); translated into German and Spanish.

88. Runciman, *Mystra: Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980); translated into Greek.

89. Runciman, *A Traveller's Alphabet*, pp. 96-8.

90. Runciman, 'Byzantine trade and industry', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, 2, 2nd edition, ed. by M. M. Postan and E. Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 132-67.

91. Runciman, 'The place of Byzantium in the medieval world', in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, 4.2, ed. by J. M. Hussey (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), pp. 354-75.

92. Runciman, 'The Pilgrimages to Palestine before 1095', in *Pennsylvania/Wisconsin A History of the Crusades*, I, pp. 68-78; *ibid.*, 'The First Crusade: Constantinole to Antioch', pp. 280-304; *ibid.*, 'The First Crusade: Antioch to Ascalon', pp. 308-341. *Idem*, 'The Crusader States, 1243-1291', in *A History of the Crusades*, II, *The Later Crusades, 1189-1311*, ed. by R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard, gen. ed. K. M. Setton, 2nd ed (Madison, Milwaukee, London: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 557-598.

The last work to be examined is in itself a good summary of Steven Runciman's supreme qualities as a historian, which were put to a severe test when he was commissioned in 1956 to write the history of the white Rajahs of Sarawak, the north western part of Borneo, which was controlled by three generations of British-born Rajahs between 1841 and 1946, when the territory was ceded to the British Crown⁹³. The intellectual genius of a historian is best assessed when dealing with a period and a geographical zone alien to his common historical undertakings. If the test is passed, and Runciman did it more than satisfactorily, that is the proof that we are not in front of just a specialist who cannot move beyond his allotted space, but of an intellectual who thinks far and wide and has no boundaries. The how and why of this extraordinary book has been told by Sir Steven himself in his *Partial Memoirs*⁹⁴. The fascinating story of James Brooke and his descendants carving for themselves a kingdom in the Far East in modern times must have caught the imagination of a person who had confessed that 'from my earliest childhood, I've liked history. I wasn't drawn to it by scientific desire for knowledge. Oh, no. I was drawn by romantic imaginings'⁹⁵. That kind of initial and continued intellectual push is reckoned to be very incorrect nowadays, but it is the only springboard to make history. To Eileen Power's famous dictum, 'No theory, no history' could very well be added another which in no way contradicts but rather complements it: 'No imagination, no history'.

A Future Re-evaluation of a Classic Historian

I am confident that the time will come when, the repugnance of the self-proclaimed scientific academics to many of his works overcome, especially to *A History of the Crusades*, the figure of Runciman will stand out as that of one of the finest historians of the twentieth century, a scholar who masterly combined intellectual rigour with great literary quality, and who greatly succeeded in the dearest wish of any writer: a wide and influential diffusion of his work among the general public.

A comment of Sir John Plumb on his dear master Trevelyan may be equally applied to Sir Steven Runciman and serves as an optimistic counterbalance to G. M. Trevelyan's words which introduced this intellectual profile:

93. S. Runciman, *The White Rajahs: A History of Sarawak from 1841 to 1946* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

94. Runciman, *A Traveller's Alphabet*, pp. 140-50.

95. Plante, *Profile*, p. 67.

'[Trevelyan]...is now at the nadir of his reputation... His revival will come when he is seen more strongly in the context of his age, and then, I suspect, he will loom over the twentieth century as Macaulay looms over the early nineteenth'⁹⁶.

Let us hope that Trevelyan will be joined in his revival by one of his most distinguished followers: Sir Steven Runciman. That shall happen when history will eventually break the barriers of futile self-contained academic specialization and aim again at enlightening the many. Because, as Plumb rightly perceived, '...the public at large...still want history as literature, and still see it, as did Trevelyan [Runciman could well be added here too], as one of the great creative activities of man'⁹⁷.

Chronology

- 1903. Runciman was born in Northumberland on the 7th of July.
- 1916-1921. He attended Eton College.
- 1921. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge.
- 1924. He obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree.
- 1927. He obtained his Master of Arts degree.
- 1927-38. He was Fellow at Trinity College.
- 1932-38. He lectured at the University of Cambridge.
- 1940-42. He was posted during the Second World War in Sofia, Cairo and Jerusalem.
- 1942-45. He was Professor of Byzantine Art and History at the University of Istanbul.
- 1945-47. He held the post of Representative of the British Council in Greece.
- 1947-2000. He worked as an independent scholar.
- 1958. He was knighted.
- 2000. Runciman died in Radway, Warwickshire on the 1st of November.

96. John H. Plumb, 'The True Voice of Clio', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 2 May 1980, p. 485; quoted in Cannadine, *G. M. Trevelyan*, p. v.

97. Plumb, 'The True Voice of Clio', p. 485.

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Américo Castro (1885 – 1972)

E. Michael GERLI

Américo Castro's Life and Intellectual Formation

Américo Castro y Quesada was a Spanish philologist and historian who explored the distinctive cultural roots and attitudes of Spanish and Spanish American civilization. He was born in Cantagalo, Brazil, in the east-central part of Rio de Janeiro State, on May 4, 1885 and went to Spain in 1890, at the age of five, when his parents returned to their native Granada. Castro was educated in Granada and graduated from the University there in 1904. In 1905 he went to France, where he spent two years studying and teaching at the Sorbonne. By 1910 he had returned to Spain and was instrumental in organizing the Centro de Estudios Históricos in Madrid, where he served as head of the department of lexicography under the direction of his teacher and the Centro's founder, the philologist-historian Ramón Menéndez Pidal. His close collaboration with Menéndez Pidal produced the *Adiciones hispánicas al diccionario etimológico de Wilhelm Meyer-Luebke* (1918), an effort that filled many lexicographical gaps in the great German scholar's pioneering work. It was through the Centro de Estudios Históricos that Castro came into contact with Menéndez Pidal's close friend, Francisco Giner de los Ríos, founder and head of the progressive Institución Libre de Enseñanza and one of the major intellectuals and liberal social reformers in Spain at the time. Castro remained at the Centro, even after securing an academic chair at the Universidad Central de Madrid in 1915, and was later associated with the University of Seville, where for a time he taught Spanish language and literature.

As a young man, through the Centro de Estudios Históricos, Castro became acquainted with and later corresponded with the young Spanish philosopher, José Ortega y Gasset. Castro's later ideas and his preoccupation with the formative processes of Spanish history, Spain, and the Spaniards, although ultimately distinct from Ortega's, doubtless arose from his early contact with the latter, who veered away from historical positivism while seeking to discover the theoretical underpinnings of the historical process. From 1917 on, in addition to publishing regularly in professional journals on matters of academic interest, Castro began to emerge as a public intellectual, writing in the popular press on literary, cultural and historical topics, as well as on the need

for educational reform in Spain. His articles began to appear regularly in *El Sol* of Madrid and *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, at the time two of the most influential and widely-read newspapers in the Spanish speaking world.

In 1923 Castro was invited to Buenos Aires by the young Spanish philologist Amado Alonso, to celebrate the founding of the Instituto de Filología Hispánica in that city. After teaching and lecturing for several months in Buenos Aires, Castro traveled to Chile and then on to the United States, where he also lectured and offered courses and seminars on the history of the Spanish language and related topics. By the spring of 1924 Castro had been invited by Federico de Onís to be Visiting Professor at Columbia University in New York City. De Onís, who was one of the most distinguished and influential Hispanists in North America at the time, was founder of the Casa Hispánica at Columbia and of the *Revista Hispánica Moderna*, and he was instrumental in introducing Castro to important American intellectuals and academics at Princeton, Harvard and other American institutions of higher learning. Later in 1924, before returning to Madrid, Castro ventured to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Mexico, where he met and became close friends with the Mexican scholar and essayist, Alfonso Reyes.

After the publication of his ground-breaking *El pensamiento de Cervantes* in 1925, Castro was recognized as an international academic celebrity whose fame and reputation ranged far and wide. As a result, he was invited by the University of Berlin for the 1930-31 academic year to serve as *Gastprofessor*, and from there witnessed the fall of the Spanish monarchy and the proclamation of the Second Spanish republic. As a member of the group of adherents to the liberal social legacy of Giner de los Ríos, whose many disciples played an important role in forging the new Spanish republic, Castro was named ambassador to Germany, just at the time the forces of National Socialism began to emerge. Not long after, however, Castro resigned from his diplomatic appointment and returned to Madrid, where he created the department of American Studies at the Centro de Estudios Históricos, and where he would pursue his academic interests for the next five years. Amidst growing social and political unrest in Spain, he departed for Buenos Aires in the early part of 1936 for a lecture tour, never suspecting that he would be obliged by events in Spain to live in America for the next three decades, nor intuiting the profound influence that the upheavals of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) would eventually have upon his understanding of the history of Spain. In a significant civic gesture, after 1939 Castro claimed Brazilian citizenship since Spanish Republican passports were no longer honored; in 1943, during his tenure at Princeton, he became a United States citizen, and following American

custom dropped the use of his second last name, never to claim Spanish citizenship again, even after his return to Madrid during the last four years of his life.

Shortly after the Civil War broke out in July 1936, Castro traveled from Argentina to the United States, the country where he would spend the rest of his academic career, and the place that provided the open-minded intellectual environment that would allow him to forge his audacious (some would say quixotic) ideas about Spain and the history of the Spaniards. It was during this latter part of his life that Castro would develop his method of interpretive historical understanding, especially after coming into contact with the writings of Wilhelm Dilthey, whose concern was to establish a theoretical and methodological foundation for what he called the "human sciences" (*Geisteswissenschaften*), as distinct from the more empirically based "natural sciences". From 1937-1939 Castro taught at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, an institution where he went to take up the legacy of Antonio García Solalinde, a distinguished student of Menéndez Pidal who had died unexpectedly some years earlier. From Wisconsin, Castro subsequently moved to a newly emerging center of Hispanic Studies in the southwest, the University of Texas at Austin, where he taught from 1939-1940, and then on to Princeton (1940-1953), the University of Houston (1955), and finally in 1964 to the newly established program in Spanish literature at the University of California, La Jolla, where, attracted by the presence of members of a new generation of self-exiled Spanish intellectuals like Carlos Blanco Aguinaga, he remained until his definitive retirement from academic life in 1968.

Although never an overt political activist, Castro was not shy about his beliefs and during the 1950s while living in the United States, he would on occasion let his resistance to the post Civil War Spanish government be publicly felt—if only implicitly--through association with and publication in the *Cuadernos del Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura* (1953-1963), a journal in which he published several articles on history and historiography (1954-1958). The latter, though subsequently revealed to be funded by the U.S. government, claimed to be an unaligned publication that appeared in Europe during the Cold War. It was staffed primarily by exiled Spanish republicans and sought to advocate an anti-totalitarian social position to counterbalance the effects of the Franco regime, the International Peace Movement, and Soviet propaganda. Castro's final years in retirement were spent in Spain, where he continued to enjoy an active intellectual life up to the day of his death from heart failure at Lloret de Mar on July 25, 1972, while swimming in the sea.

Castro's Intellectual Development and his Theory of History

Castro's intellectual biography may be divided into two distinct but related periods: 1) an early, philologically centered one, whose interest, while ever interpretive, was historical in a more traditional positivistic way, seeking to trace origins, transmissions and influences; and 2) a later, boldly theoretical one in which he sought to explore and recover the manner in which people in the past constructed their cultural identities and shaped historical events through the way they came to perceive life and human relations. The most notable of Castro's early scholarly works are his *Vida de Lope de Vega* (1919; "Life of Lope de Vega"), *Lengua, enseñanza y literatura* (1924; "Language, Teaching, and Literature"), and his monumental *El pensamiento de Cervantes* (1925; "The Thought of Cervantes"), a book that marks the beginnings of the modern understanding of Cervantes and his works. Especially around the time of the publication of the latter, Castro's essays began to take on an air of independence and bear a less strictly philological orientation, acquiring a broader historical interpretive focus centering on the history of ideas and mentalities. This is the case with his 1924 lectures on "Don Juan en la literatura española," followed by a clear interest in the effect of heterodox spirituality in orthodox, Catholic Spain with *Santa Teresa y otros ensayos* (1929), and articles on Erasmus in the time of Cervantes (1929-1931), which culminated in his *Lo hispánico y el erasmismo* (1940-42).

Castro's significance as a historian rests upon his audacious theoretical writings that emerged only after the Spanish Civil War and during his tenure in the American academy. One protean work in particular would come to dominate this period of his intellectual life which, in its last incarnation would bear the definitive title of *La realidad histórica de España* (1962). Originally published in 1948 under the title of *España en su historia: judíos, moros, y cristianos*, the work would undergo near total revision in title and content. It became *La realidad histórica de España* in 1954. The 1962 edition contained little of the 1948 edition. Over the next twenty years, it would serve as the touchstone for a prolonged, heated polemic with many Spanish historians, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz among the most notable of them. In the latter work Castro espoused the idea that Spaniards became a distinct group, with a sense of *ipseidad* ("selfhood"), only after the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711, when the inhabitants of the latter diversified into, and identified themselves as, different castes arising from their conditions as Christians, Muslims, and Jews. They formed a pluralistic society and culture marked by difference and the need for coexistence, or, as he called it, *convivencia*.

According to Castro, *convivencia* first emerged in Al Andalus (Muslim Iberia) out of necessity. Relatively few in number, the Muslim conquerors of the Iberian Peninsula were obliged to rely upon the autochthonous Christian and Jewish population in order to govern. From this dependence there developed a form of coexistence and cooperation based on mutual self-interest that continued to serve as a model of social organization later in the middle ages, when Christians ultimately would become the dominant political force on Iberian soil. More than a convenient social structure, however, the transactional nature of *convivencia* had, according to Castro, clear ideological implications which fell along religious and cultural lines. Hence, despite the pragmatic need for tolerance, clear religious differences would over time continue to define the vision of the world and the social and political role played by each of the three different groups, or castes as he preferred to call them. After the Reconquest of the early thirteenth century, Christians became the predominant military force, Muslims emerged as the producers of material goods, and the Jews developed into the intellectual cast that ministered to economic and intellectual life. Over time, as the Christian military cast gained power and territory, the different roles played by each group became more and more pronounced, and religion increasingly became the determining factor that defined the human subject, eventually leading to a destabilization and a breakdown of all the prior social and political accommodations that had sustained and defined *convivencia*.

By the late fourteenth century, the Jews, resulting from their ascendant economic power and intellectual prestige, had become the object of scorn and exacerbated traditional Christian prejudice against them which led to violence, compelling large numbers of Jews to convert to Christianity. These "New Christians" (*cristianos nuevos*) as they were called, had crossed over into the civic space of "Old Christians," and by their very existence challenged the extant social contract since they were perceived as interlopers in the world of their Old Christian compatriots. As such, "New Christians" were marked as pariahs by "Old Christians" and many "New Christians" were obliged either to efface their ethnic and religious ancestry or to compensate for it by becoming zealous defenders of the Christian faith. One result of this was the Inquisition, established in Castile at the end of the 1470s, which became an institution dominated by ardent "New Christians" who, driven by the need to prove themselves, sought zealously to affirm their orthodoxy, their allegiance to their faith, and the superiority of their newly adopted Christian religion. The Inquisition, according to Castro, was one of many inevitable outcomes of the breakdown of *convivencia*, which was itself a social phenom-

enon that had arisen out of radical religious differences and tensions. By the fifteenth century, society's traditional balance in the division of labors had broken down, as Christian hostility was now directed toward the despised, subjected casts of Jews and Moors.

To mark their distinctiveness and difference vis-à-vis Jews and Muslims, Christians adopted certain social attitudes, among them most notably an aversion to anything that hinted at manual work, an activity more properly of the *mudejars* and *moriscos*, and any intellectual or economic pursuit, which could be perceived as belonging to the realm of the Jews. Since an individual's honor (*honra* in Spanish, with the connotation of one's rank and status in the community) depended entirely on public perceptions and the opinion of one's peers, the need to appear honorable obliged those who pretended to "Old Christian" status to eschew any attitude or activity that could place into question the ancient origin of the person's Christian ancestry. In this way, "New Christians" were compelled to adopt ostentatious forms of Christian conduct that, in their very ostentation overcompensated and paradoxically betrayed their status as "New Christians."

Radically rejecting traditional, Eurocentric interpretations of Spain, Castro emphasized what Spanish historians had always minimized in their understanding of the Spanish past: the foundational and formative role that Islam and Judaism especially had played in forging a unique Spanish sense of self at the threshold of early modernity. Many of Castro's ideas concerning the selfhood of the Spaniards as the driving force of their history, and the long-term consequences of the cultural and religious transactions that marked Spanish life during the Middle Ages, were applied toward understanding later characteristics that emerged in early modernity and existed well into the nineteenth century. In this regard, Castro's ideas would come to fruition in such works as *Iberoamérica, su presente y su pasado* (1941; "Ibero-America, Its Present and Its Past") *De la edad conflictiva* (1961; "Concerning the Age of Conflict"), and *Cervantes y los casticismos españoles* (Cervantes and Spanish Cast Attitudes). To be sure, the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries especially, according to Castro, would be indelibly marked by an obsession with *honra* and the phenomenon of blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*). He noted that by the middle of the fifteenth century, the descendants of Christians were distinguished in opposition to the caste of "New Christians" solely by the religion of their ancestors. The descendants of baptized Jews, the "New Christians" were disparagingly referred to as *conversos* or *marranos*, and Muslims as *moriscos*. They became the object of social exclusion and were obliged to prove that they were of "Old Christian" ancestry through genea-

logical documents called *ejecutorias de pureza de sangre* (pedigrees of blood purity). This led to countless forgeries and misrepresentations which proved that many were not who they actually were.

Besides constituting social and economic causes of concern for the dominant Christians, the allegation was that *conversos* were suspect by definition and were, in all likelihood, false converts, who had converted out of convenience and continued to observe their former religion clandestinely. There is no doubt that purity of blood, an issue of ancestry and not of personal conscience or religious belief, became a fundamental value of Spanish society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that it shaped every aspect of Spanish life and culture, plus vouchsafed the worth of the individual vis-à-vis legitimate society. The polity became stratified along its lines for several centuries. As a result of it, "Old Christian" commoners could claim *hidalgúa*, a minor noble status requiring blood purity, and could assert unique privileges (e.g., exemption from certain taxes) plus a right to *honra*, even if they were not members of the high nobility. Indeed, the high aristocracy was itself thought to be "tainted" by mixed blood, thus reinforcing the rural peasantry's greater claim to *pureza de sangre* and *honra* since the latter's ancestors, removed from the city, rarely consorted with Jews. Upwardly mobile "New Christians" had either to contend with their plight, or bribe officials and falsify documents alleging generations of fictitious "Old Christian" ancestry. The abolishment of tests for blood purity in Spain was late in adoption: the practice continued well into the nineteenth century, when official suppression of the requirement of *limpieza de sangre* for enlistment in the Army and Navy was enacted into law in 1865. Even then, however, the tests for blood purity to determine one's eligibility for government service or a licensed profession were not abolished until 1870.

Centering on the appearance of institutionalized forms of prejudice and the discourses of social and religious difference that marked Spanish history from the late middle ages forward, Castro's main contribution to understanding Spanish history came from his challenge to the essentialist notion of the existence of a continuous, dominant concept of a Spanish identity. Rejecting the prevailing historical paradigm of the cultural genealogy of the nation, which held that there was such a thing as a lasting Spanish national character whose roots could be traced back through the Visigoths to the Romanized inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula, who had displayed an inherent psychology of the nation that carried over into modernity, Castro held that Spanish identity was a protean thing and a relatively recent cultural construct. He asserted that Spaniards, per se, did not exist nor did they begin to develop a

distinct identity until the middle ages, when after the Islamic conquest of Iberian peninsula in 711 CE, Christians, Jews, and Muslims began to coexist and interact in Iberia. The history of what would become Spain would emerge from this contact and from the central existential attitude, the *morada vital* as he called it, which guided Spanish perceptions of human reality. It was only in light of this that such events as the so-called “Reconquista” or ultimate Christian conquest of the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century, and the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, could properly be understood.

Restless to begin with and dissatisfied with prevailing interpretations of Spanish history, shaken by the Spanish Civil War and the experience of self-imposed exile, Castro’s studies after 1939 focused on how Spanish history had been affected by the shift of Spain’s military and political power from Muslim to Christian during the Middle Ages, (11th–15th cent.) and finally by the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 on into early modernity. To do this, the process of interpretive historical inquiry Castro adopted ultimately traces its roots through Dilthey back to Schleiermacher and involves what the former called “the Hermeneutic circle,” or the recurring movement between the implicit and the explicit in the events and institutions of the past. From this, the primary object of historical inquiry is to understand a particular group’s implicit understanding of itself, its *morada vital*, or a people’s apprehension of life as defined by a common nexus (a concept not indistinct from Dilthey’s *Lebenszusammenhang*). Castro’s new style of history turned away from the factual certainties of economic and descriptive social history, and explored the “history of mentalities.” It held that the historical world was created out of perceptions, not out of events, and that we needed to recognize that the whole of history is a construct of human impressions.

Castro’s theory of history developed after, and as a result of, his own historical investigations; it arose from his personal dissatisfaction with existing histories of Spain, plus his desire to understand and explain what he perceived to be the Iberian Peninsula’s singular historical past. In the formulation of his theory, he rejected all notions of a determinant geography, race, economics, or national psychology as the formative element of the history of the Spanish nation. For Castro, the meaning of the history of Spain rested upon a preterit, living reality extant prior to any post factum inquiry or analysis into it. It was comprised of a series of actions in the past that expressed an immanent movement toward a future that, as well, remained tied to a present with its own past. The historian’s task is to seek to recuperate that preterit vital reality, the set of living circumstances, which serve as the point of departure for uncovering the rationale and motivations which move the people and events from

which historical events emerge. Historiography, according to Castro, must distinguish between the agents of history and the values which move them, seeking to single out the different, complex perspectives that constitute the nature of living in the past that it takes as its object.

For Castro, the agent of history is constituted by a group of living beings who share a common sense of being, *ipseidad*, or a set of feelings, values, resonances, and ideas about existence and about the group's role and identity in the present in which it lives. The group shares a sense of selfness and a self-awareness, both collectively and individually, and envisions both a past and a future for itself, since the group's vision of its past remains an integral part of its present and helps shape the way in which it thinks. Hence, the fact that the common denominator among a certain group of inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula between the time of the Muslim invasion and the end of the Reconquest was *cristiano*, as opposed to *español*--a word of foreign provenance-- points to the larger motivational reality and the religious ethos and identity that both moved and determined the identity of the group and the outcomes of its actions. The latter sense arose only in opposition to and in transaction with other groups who perceived the world in which they lived through a similar religiously colored lens--Muslims and Jews--, who likewise constituted themselves around notions of culture and community arising from religious difference and different sets of cultural practices, rather than on any territorial or political identity. Spanish, as Castro points out, remains the only European language in which *cristiano* was employed as a term to designate a polity, and it stands for the sense of self-awareness, the *ipseidad*, that arose in dialectical opposition to other polities that defined themselves according to religious beliefs and cultural practices, *moros* and *judíos*.

The term Castro employs to describe the unique perspectives forged by a given group's sense of self, or *ipseidad*, is *morada vital* (the dwelling place of a life). The *morada vital* is comprised of discretely defined ideational forces which move the group or the individual historical agent. The *morada vital* constitutes the shared, idiosyncratic sense of a *we* and the values and ideas that shape it. Only viewed from this perspective can the deeds and events generated by the agents of history become comprehensible, just as they can be understood as arising from the unique way of being which makes them come about. Castro uses the word *vividura* (sense of livingness) to describe the consciousness of belonging and acting in accordance with a determined *morada vital*. He held that the 350 years existence of the Inquisition and the statutes of blood in Spain--well into modernity--, cannot be comprehended unless approached from an understanding of the *morada vital* and the *vividura*

of the people who gave the Inquisition and blood purity their force, presence, and vitality in an age where comparable institutions had died out in the rest of Europe. The discovery and understanding of a given *morada vital* is the true objective of history since it is what generates the actions and expressions of living and life in the past, the stuff that makes history: it is a concept that encompasses a fundamental way of being and experiencing the world. The *morada vital* emerges from specific forms of existence that are transformed into the institutions, habits, and events that belong to the realm of what Castro calls *lo describable* (that which can be described), or what other historians mistakenly take as their object of study and interest. Thus, Castro's theory of history rests on a deeply philosophical and existential approach to understanding the past, history itself, and historical agency; one in radical opposition to the positivist approaches pursued by his Spanish contemporaries, perhaps with the unique exception of José Ortega y Gasset, who also cultivated the notion of historical *mentalités*, but with different emphases.

At certain points in time, according to Castro, the *morada vital* of a group may undergo radical transformation, usually occasioned by some major cataclysm, transcendent event, or series of events. This entails the loss of the sense of *ipseidad*, and requires a reorientation toward a new notion of self and a new self-awareness in the collective life of a group, often involving the acquisition of a new language and the abandonment of an old one. This indeed is what happened with the Muslim invasion of Iberia in 711. It implemented a tectonic shift in the cultural, religious, and linguistic practices of the Iberian Peninsula and obliged a radical transformation in the existential horizons of the people who inhabited it at the time. What is understood to be Spanish only comes into being after the Muslim invasion and can only be comprehended as a result of it. The *morada vital* of the Spaniards is generated precisely by an awareness of a Christian *ipseidad* that develops amidst the Roman-Gothic population in the north of the Peninsula at the moment their world is shaken by an invasion of a powerful people who confronted them with either survival or annihilation. The Muslim conquest produced not just an institutional rupture but a spiritual and existential one with all prior traditions that had structured the *modus vivendi* of the peoples of the peninsula. From it was forged a new type of historical self-awareness and a new historical agent. The *morada vital* of a people is thus preserved only so long as a group is able to guarantee its existential sense of self and is not conquered, forced to change, or subjected by another.

The values of the agents of history who move events in the past are not only the highest expression of the *morada vital*, they reflect the unique set of

circumstances which the historian must capture in order to understand existentially (Castro uses the phrase “captar vivencialmente”) their full meaning and be able to relive and relate them in the present. They are the only legitimate object of historiography, and what can be termed *lo historiable* (that which can be understood as history); for these are the impulses which produce phenomena like civilization and progress, which by themselves can only be narrated but never understood. Events by themselves belong to the realm of *lo narrable* (that which can be told) and are the stuff of chronicles and annals. They possess no intrinsic interest outside of chronology. Capturing in the present the resonances of the values of the past that informed events, the vicarious experiencing of the *morada vital* behind the facts, is the true work of historiography. The writing of history thus requires entering imaginatively into the sense of living experienced by the historical subjects of the past through the consciousness of the historian. Historical understanding exploits the historian’s ability to experience the *morada vital* of the historical group or agent.

Save José Ortega y Gasset, who centered his notion of the meaning of past and present around what he called the *razón vital* (life as the foundation of reason and purpose) in which life is the sum of the ego and its circumstances, contemporary Spanish historians and philologists, believed in the disinterestedness of knowledge and, heavily influenced by positivism, were convinced of their ability to recover the past objectively. They saw history as something “scientific” and rejected all theories and methods of history that could be regarded as non-positivist on the grounds that they constituted “non-scientific” practices. In this way, they isolated the artifacts of the past from complex cultural and historical circumstances that needed to be understood—relived, as it were—and studied them as if they were fossils. In stark contrast, in his approach to history Castro recognized the degree to which the critic-scholar stands in a compromising position: on the one hand, how he is involved in an enterprise that, since the Renaissance, had assumed the disinterestedness of knowledge, and since the nineteenth century the objectivity of it; and on the other, how the interpreter of the past participates in its interpretation as a socially contextualized agent in a network of subjectivities. In an almost post-modern gesture, Castro shunned the notion of an objective historiography and stressed the central role played by the historian in the creation of history. He recognized and fully admitted the historian’s compromised mediatory role in recuperating and understanding the ethos that moved the historical agents of the past. For Castro, then, history is driven by the indispensable need to experience the values of the past that constitute events and institutions

through the mediation of the historian. In this way, the historian becomes the principal agent in the act of understanding and conveying history. More than a transparent facilitator, the historian in his own life captures the living life of others; and it is only in this way that we can begin to comprehend what was valued and is of value in the past. History does not involve the creation of a disinterested evocation of the past, which is impossible. It is something which can only be experienced through the historian. The object of history thus involves something other than the events that accompany it. For Castro, it becomes the nature of human consciousness in the past, the set of postulates and attitudes that structure the way life itself was experienced and manifested through actions, which the historian relives in the present.

Reception of Castro's Ideas

Castro's theories and their concrete application to Spanish history polarized the academic community of Spanish historians and cultural critics around the world. On the one hand, they were embraced and developed brilliantly in the American academy by scholars like Stephen Gilman at Harvard, Vicente Llorens at Princeton, and Samuel Armistead and Joseph Silverman at the University of California, Los Angeles; plus Francisco Márquez Villanueva and Julio Rodríguez Puértolas, both first in Spain (Márquez Villanueva at the University of Seville, and Rodríguez Puértolas at the University of Madrid) and subsequently in the United States (Márquez Villanueva at City University of New York and then at Harvard; Rodríguez Puértolas at the University of California, Los Angeles). Roy Harvey Pearce, an influential contemporary American cultural critic recognized for his theoretical writing on the historical mode, and who had been instrumental in bringing the philosopher Herbert Marcuse in the 1960s to the University of California, also came to Castro's ardent defense. On the other hand, especially among Spaniards themselves, Castro's work produced a backlash of rejection that rose in at least one instance to ad hominem abuse. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, and Otis H. Green (an American and founder of the *Hispanic Review* at the University of Pennsylvania), all felt provoked to publish book length studies in response to Castro's audacious interpretations and to counter his theories and methodologies for dealing with the Spanish past. Sánchez Albornoz's *España, un enigma histórico* (1956) makes it clear from its outset that this lengthy and learned book is intended directly to refute Castro's ideas. Similarly, Otis Green's *Spain and the Western Tradition* (1963-1966, in four volumes), although eschewing direct engagement with Castro, from its title

forward nevertheless offers a detailed, concerted response that seeks to underscore emphatically the Occidental nature of Spain's culture and history. Finally, among the notable negative responses to Castro, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, with the aid of his son Gonzalo, collected and edited a series of previously published studies in book form, *España y su historia*, whose title made a clear allusion to the first version of Castro's most controversial work, *España en su historia*. Even after Castro's death in 1972, the polemical responses, especially from Spain, continued down through the work of a later generation of Spanish scholars, the most notable of whom was the Navarese cultural historian Eugenio Asensio. For Asensio, who in 1976 published his disparagingly titled *La España imaginada de Américo Castro*, the answers to the nature of Spanish history in early modernity, fraught with its complex spiritual conundrums, continued to lie only in the north of Europe, in the advent of Protestantism and, especially in Erasmus and the desire for Church reform. Though intended to be disdainful, Asensio's title nevertheless ironically reflected Castro's position that the past must indeed be imagined in order to be meaningful and experienced as history. More recently, in the late 1990s and the early years of this century, there has emerged a resurgent interest on Américo Castro in Spain. Led by the novelist, cultural critic, and social activist Juan Goytisolo, who met Castro at the University of California, La Jolla in the late 1960s, it seeks to recuperate Castro's work and demonstrate its relevance to the understanding of the multicultural, pluralistic society that constitutes contemporary Spain. Castro's and Goytisolo's letters from 1968-72 have been published, and several academic conferences featuring Goytisolo have been dedicated to exploring cultural diversity in Spain from the perspectives initially set out by Castro more than sixty years ago.

Significance and Transcendence of Américo Castro's Historical Paradigm

Although Castro's theories and his historical scholarship are not well known outside of Hispanic circles, they represent one of the most audacious, controversial, and significant legacies to the study of history, literature, culture and society in Spain of the last century. Even among hispanists, Castro is best remembered only for having emphasized the role of the Semitic cultures in the course of Spanish history. In his pursuit of the resonances of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism in Spanish life, however, Castro pioneered a theory of history and culture that can be seen as an important precursor of what today is generally called cultural studies. Like cultural studies, much of Castro's historical methodology draws its evidence from texts and becomes a work of

close reading whose end is to reveal the larger, implicit cultural matrices in which preterit human utterances were embedded. In this way, Castro's scholarship becomes a means for imaginatively recovering the past that often extends beyond the text being read. At the same time, the process becomes an activity that speculates upon and tests the possibilities of history itself.

In the development of his interests and methodology, Castro turned to the Iberian middle ages and looked upon them as the chronological crucible in which modern Spain was synthesized. In them, he intuited the beginnings of a unique sense of human existence, a *morada vital*, not shared by other cultures in Europe. Out of the contact of the three cultures, Christian, Islamic, and Judaic, he concluded, there emerged a unique set of circumstances that continued to mark the personality and psychology of later inhabitants of Iberia well into modernity. His often polemical observations about Spanish life in the middle ages, anathema to many contemporary Spaniards, especially during Francoist times, were derived principally from his study of literature or texts. Although the problem of historiography was central to Castro's writings, his sense of history and culture emerged from a broad humanistic philological base that viewed historical study as a work of criticism rather than of science. To be sure, Castro was first a philologist and then a historian: a humanist who constructed the greater part of his theory and practice of history upon textual, rather than documentary foundations. The semantic distinction is crucial. For most historians documents are repositories of facts that can be gleaned to provide an unobtrusive, objective and disinterested vision of the past. For a cultural historian like Castro, the very same "document" constituted a text shaped by human forces and convictions: a repository of ideologies, mentalités, and experiences.

In the Iberian medieval and early modern texts he read, Castro was the first to perceive and exploit an invaluable depository of values and attitudes, the reflections of inner realities shaped by cultural positions and situations which gave access to individual perspectives on life. In Castro's practice of history, texts are the best means by which to recuperate the *morada vital*, or the structuring principle of life in a given people or a given person in a particular moment of their historical development. As he puts it, "la vida historiable consiste en un curso o proceso interior, dentro del cual las motivaciones exteriores adquieren forma y realidad; es decir, se convierten en hechos y acontecimientos dotados de sentido"¹. In texts, it is possible to find no less than the unselfcon-

1. Américo Castro, *La realidad histórica de España: Refundición de España en su historia* (Mexico: Porrúa, 1956), p. 109.

scious representation and interpretation of human experience, the *proceso interior* which shapes and motivates all human action. As the unique vestiges of the past in the present, texts contain subtle ideational resonances that may serve as the key to open the very substance of history—the climate of opinion and the beliefs of others in dialogue with an individual. They may reveal, in short, forms of identity and a constellation of values and convictions.

As a scholar who understood cultural history to be primarily a humanistic enterprise, Castro believed that the past could only be understood by entering imaginatively into it, by attempting to relive singular preterit points of view through the acquisition of a sense of the *vividura* of a particular moment in the past. In his *Dos ensayos*, a crucial work in the articulation of his theory of cultural history, anticipating by some three decades Clifford Geertz's and Robert Darnton's strategies for interpreting cultures, Castro observed that "historiar requiere entrar en la conciencia del vivir de otros a través de la conciencia del historiador, es decir, sirviéndose de su vivencia del vivir de otros"². What matters, then, is to seek an understanding of the conscious processes of others, since it is there that one can discover the values, emotions, and prejudices that are the bases for understanding the reasons for the ways in which human beings engage the world. Even anonymous texts may serve as cultural barometers, historical seismographs that register the shifting forces that shape events, the attitudes and human sentiments—the deeper inner realities-- that make history.

Any history that failed to understand the cultural forces which shape events is dehumanized history for Castro. "La ingenua urgencia de narrar o averiguar sin más lo que pasó," he says, "hace olvidar la auténtica realidad de los hechos y las obras de la historia humana, una realidad es sólo historiable cuando es puesta en correlación con la estructura humana en que existe, y con los valores en los cuales se hace significativo"³. In short, the only meaningful history is one which seeks to recuperate the human values and the existential resonances of the past, its human structure. It is not enough to know the past for Castro; one must seek to understand it, become privy to its intimate forms of expression. Castro saw historical study as a type of cultural critique not unlike other forms of criticism. As a result, he sought reflections of a historical past by seeking to recuperate the meanings that others had endowed upon the world.

2. *Ibid*, p. 34.

3. Américo Castro, 'La tarea de historiar', *Cuadernos del Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura* (Paris), 4 (1954), p. 21.

Although Castro dealt with a great many textual forms in advancing his vision of Iberian cultural history, his approach to the Hispanic ballad tradition, the *romancero*, is perhaps most instructive for the purpose of understanding him in the context of the middle ages and national traditions. The historical and frontier ballads that flourished in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century were for him as much chroniclers of attitudes and intentions as they were contemporary attempts to chronicle events. They were fraught with ideology and could be read in a specular fashion, detecting in them both political and religious propaganda as well as instruments for fashioning collective identities. Much to his credit, while Menéndez Pidal and others were still arguing for the ballads' ties to actual events, interpreting them as testimonials, Castro pointed out how the Castilian balladry of the late Middle Ages and early modernity coincided with an emerging national consciousness and the desire to express a vision of that new, conscious identity. Commenting on the sudden proliferation of ballads in the last half of the fifteenth century, he understood them clearly as Castilian propaganda and commented that "el pueblo castellano se vertebró como tal pueblo mientras iba reviviendo su propia historia, sin que nadie se la enseñara, a lo largo de la nunca interrumpida línea de sus romances"⁴. The ballad, then is much more than an artistic form of expression, the testimonial of an event, or philological curiosity: for Castro it becomes a type of secular mythology that embeds the ideational resonances of an identity and links it to a teleology with a sense of the past and an understanding of a destiny.

For Castro, a fuller conception of the past needed to be based on the human studies and a larger vision of the forces which produce culture. He realized that, as in the case of the ballad, literary expression is linked to living circumstances and can be approached as something which encodes ways of endowing sense upon the world. All texts were bound by the horizons of the human circumstances of their production; they were situationally determined and implicated in preterit lives moved by thoughts and opinions, a set of facts from life that accompany their composition. Additionally, they did something: they possessed a function and a purpose that was usually connected to the advancement of an idea or the politics of social relations and the authorities of power. Castro's understanding of history and the role of texts in its construction was predicated on three central convictions: that human beings experience life as meaningful; that it is chiefly through language and its encod-

4. Américo Castro, *Español, palabra extranjera: razones y motivos* (Madrid: Taurus, 1970), p. 58.

ing in texts that an historian can perceive expressions of that meaning; and that that meaning, through the mediation of the historian, could be understood by later generations.

As noted, many of Castro's contemporaries objected to his approach to the past, still laboring under the positivist fantasy of scientific objectivity. He was chastised for his subjectivity and castigated for his insistence that close, imaginative reading was the only real means for accessing the past. His contemporaries' claims to the invalidity of his methods, however, appear to have missed the point and to have failed to understand what we today know too well: namely, that the understanding of the human subjectivities with which he connected in his work is the real object of historical study. While many of Castro's critics claimed that his failure to conform to the positivist methodologies of history fell prey to the historian's projection of his own arbitrary concerns on the past that was the object of his study, Castro recognized—indeed, he admitted and understood well—that all historians are, in fact, bound by the imperatives of the present in which they live, and that any history that asserts its objectivity is in itself a disguised form of fiction. How the past presents itself in the perspectives of the present was, for Castro, perhaps the only legitimate sense of the meaning of the past. In a bold response to critics that was mocked by some of his most acerbic censors like Asensio, Castro stated openly that “ninguna historia es científica. Unas son mejores o más interesantes que otras, y de ahí no pasa”⁵. The notion that carefully read texts can be a means of access to former times and the subtle complexities of preterit human circumstances stands at the center of Americo Castro's cultural historiography. To be sure, by reading texts as texts rather than as documents, Castro challenged the very premises upon which positivistic history was based. He was quick to point out that the data employed by positivist historians, as with his use of literary works, was equally dependent on the mediation and interpretation of the historian. Blind rationalist trust in economic statistics or demographic figures could, by the same token, he noted, be torn apart—one hesitates to use the word deconstructed—and shown to be fallacious. For Castro, and this is the crucial distinction, history implied a broader story and was a critical art that required both discernment and imagination. It was an interpretive craft dependent on the conscience of the historian (*la conciencia del historiador*) to uncover meaning. A ballad text could, to the same degree as economic statistics, political events, or demographics, be used as a means for understanding the past. As an expression of life, moreover, it

5. Américo Castro, *Los españoles: cómo llegaron a serlo* (Madrid: Taurus, 1965) p. 54.

could provide insights that data could not. Texts permit the historian to dispel the impersonality of the past and hear its voices. They allow the living imagination to enter into past inner realities and feel, as well as see, the way people had lived. In the utterances of writers like the Archpriest of Hita, Santob rabbi of Carrión, and Pero López de Ayala, all dealt with by Castro with remarkable sensitivity, he discovered inflections and modulations of the voice that can prove more eloquent than any military accomplishment, or demographic figure. Their words convey the affective rapport of the writer with his world; and the cultural historian's task is to recover methodically the sentiments that shape their utterances; to place him or herself and their own readers in the perspective of the past. Castro's understanding of the past as a process broadly expressive of values and as a *proceso de vida* provides a human texture to the writing of history and to the cultural understanding of a bygone era.

Paradoxically then, the careful study of fictive forms, according to Castro, serve as a means for understanding what it must have been like to live at a given moment in history; they mediate perceptions of ways of living. Castro's literary and historical understanding is anything but abstract; it is grounded in the belief that experience and self-awareness are transformed into language and into art, and that the careful consideration of both can clarify motivations and open up past inner realities for the present. In this way, Castro is a modern, and perhaps even a postmodern cultural historian *avant la lettre* in every sense of the word; and it is probably for this reason that he continues either to be controversial or ignored in the Hispanic world. His work is sufficiently important to seek to prompt its reevaluation. Indeed, it is probably time to revise his role in the development of contemporary cultural history and cultural studies. Like Husserl and Dilthey, with whom he shares no small number of attributes, Castro perceived the art of history to be something akin to the chronicling of consciousness, to the understanding—the reimagination—of human subjectivities. Placing human experience at the center of historical understanding, he noted with astonishing prescience what we now know too well, that is that “los fenómenos expresivos de procesos de vida (guerras, creencias, religiosas, obras de literatura y de arte, formas de organización y de conducta social, etc.) emanan de vidas funcionantes, se nos parecen como abiertos y fluyentes, y continúan existiendo así en el curso de otras vidas”⁶.

Castro's preoccupation with the internal and ideational dimensions of the agents of history places him in a unique position among modern Spanish historians. As he elevates the conscious processes of the agents of history to a

6. Castro, *Los españoles: cómo llegaron a serlos*, p. 58.

primary plane, he recognizes that history is moved principally by shifting thoughts and protean subjectivities; and that historical processes are nothing more than “una pluralidad de singularidades, vividas como tales, y no solo como contenidos de cultura (religión, economía, arte)”⁷. In short, Castro recognizes that history remains an art and not a science. In this way, his practice of cultural history constitutes a form of humanism at its best.

Chronology

- 1885. Américo Castro is born on May 4 in Cantagalo, Brazil.
- 1890. Castro's parents return with him to their native Granada.
- 1904. Castro graduates from the University of Granada.
- 1905-1907. Castro studies at the Sorbonne in Paris.
- 1910. Castro is instrumental in helping his mentor, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, establish the Centro de Estudios Históricos in Madrid, where he serves as director of the Department of Lexicography. Castro develops a close friendship with the Francisco Giner de los Ríos.
- 1915. Castro is appointed to an academic chair at the University of Madrid.
- 1917. Castro begins to publish in the journalistic press and emerges as a public intellectual.
- 1923. Castro travels to Buenos Aires to inaugurate the Instituto de Filología Hispánica, founded by Amado Alonso.
- 1924. Castro is Visiting Professor at Columbia University in New York. He travels to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Mexico. Establishes contact with Alfonso Reyes.
- 1925. Publication of Castro's *El pensamiento de Cervantes*.
- 1929. Publication of *Santa Teresa y otros ensayos*.
- 1930-1931. Castro is invited as *Gastprofessor* at the University of Berlin.
- 1931. Serves as the new Spanish Republic's ambassador to Germany.
- 1932. Returns to Spain to create the Department of American Studies at the Centro de Estudios Históricos in Madrid.
- 1936. In the early summer, just prior to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Castro departs for an American lecture tour. He will not return to Spain until the late 1960s.
- 1937-1939. Castro serves as Professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

1939. With the conclusion of the Spanish Civil War, Castro claims Brazilian citizenship.
- 1939-1940. Castro serves as Professor at the University of Texas, Austin.
- 1940-1953. Castro occupies the Emory L. Ford Chair of Spanish at Princeton University.
1948. Publication of *España en su historia: cristianos, moros, y judíos*.
1955. Castro serves as Distinguished Professor of Spanish at the University of Houston.
1956. Publication of *La realidad histórica de España: Refundición de España en su historia*.
1961. Publication of *De la edad conflictiva. El drama de la honra en España y en su literatura*.
- 1964-1968. Castro teaches at the University of California, La Jolla, and initiates friendship with Juan Goytisolo and Carlos Blanco Aguinaga.
1967. Publication of *Cervantes y los casticismos españoles*.
1968. Castro returns to Spain.
1972. On July 25 Castro dies of a stroke while swimming in the sea at Lloret de Mar near Barcelona.

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2. Articles

- ‘Acerca de la histórica inseguridad de los españoles’, *Cuadernos del Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura* (Paris), 5 (1954), pp. 82-84.
- Dos ensayos: 1. Descripción, narración historiográfica. 2. Discrepancias y mal entender* (Mexico, Porrúa, 1956).
- ‘Emigrados’, *Cuadernos del Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura* (Paris), 17 (March, 1956), pp. 5-14.
- ‘La tarea de historiar’, *Cuadernos del Congreso por la Libertad de la Cultura* (Paris), 4 (1954), pp. 21-25.

3. Works on Américo Castro

- Américo Castro: The Impact of his Thought. Essays to Mark the Centenary of his Birth*, ed. by Ronald E. Surtz, Jaime Ferrán, and Daniel P. Testa (Madison, WI: Seminary of Hispanic Medieval Studies, 1988).
- Américo Castro and the Meaning of Spanish Civilization*, ed. by José Rubia Barcia (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976).

Guillermo Araya, *El pensamiento de Américo Castro* (Madrid: Alianza, 1983).

Eugenio Asensio, *La España imaginada de Américo Castro* (Barcelona: El Albir, 1976).

Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *España, un enigma histórico*, 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1956).

Aaron Gourevitch (1924 – 2006)

Catalina Girbea*

Aaron Gourevitch is best known as an historian of mentalities and of culture. He is one of the first thinkers to have introduced this field of research in Russia. His fundamental specialization is the culture of Northern countries. He is however the author of synthetical and generalizing projects and regards his works as cohesive structures deriving from one another. What he is really concerned about unraveling is not medieval culture or mentalities as such, but rather Middle Ages as a whole. In 1970 he publishes a long essay on feudalism in Western Europe, in which he challenges commonly acknowledged models, at the very moment when Western historians do, as has been remarked by Georges Duby¹.

The operational notion of feudalism proves to be unsatisfactory and unable to account for the true mindscape and mechanisms of medieval people; hence, the ambitious and highly hazardous project, made public in 1972 in Moscow, of establishing a kind of spectroscopy of medieval culture categories². Almost ten years later, the second part of this *dyptique* comes up in Moscow, as a study of folk culture³. This is what the author sees as a process of passing 'from the anatomy of a culture to its physiology'⁴: once the basic entities of medieval culture are delineated, it is their interaction that needs to be approached. Thus, Aaron Gourevitch attempts to reveal at last, against the confusing background of all its categories, layers and strata, the profile of the

* I would like to thank Irina Galkova for all the information that she has kindly provided and Martin Aurell for his suggestions to this paper. My gratitude goes also to Constantin Girbea for the translations from Russian and to Brandusa Grigoriu for the translation of this paper from French into English.

1. Foreword to the *Catégories de la culture médiévale*, transl. Hélène Nerva-Courtin and Nina Godneff, (Paris: Gallimard, 1983), p. VII.

2. The book *Kategorii srednevekovoj kul'tury* was published in Moscow in 1972. We will quote from his French translation *Catégories...*

3. *Problemi srednevekovoi narodnoi kul'tury*, (Moscow: Istkusstvo 1981), which we will quote by using the French translation *La culture populaire au Moyen Age*, transl. Elena Balzamo, (Paris: Aubier 1992).

4. *Culture populaire...*, p. 9.

medieval individual, which leads to a book of great international dimension on the emergence of individual consciousness in the Middle Ages⁵.

Among his more than five hundred articles and seventeen books, it is the works mentioned above that are probably the most illustrative for the author's thinking; they are, however, the ones that should have been the most widely spread and translated in Western Europe. It would be obsolete to point to the historiographical influences he may have been subject to. What is sure is that the author does not belong to the historiographical school of Soviet professors as Nina Sidorova - for medieval culture - and her satellites, as Alexandre Tchistozvonov, Zinaida Oudal'tsova, Eugenia Goutnova, and Alexandre Danilov.

Sidorova's school used to explain the conflict of the philosophical trends of the 12th century with respect to the social strata. On the contrary, Aaron Gourevitch counts among the first Russian historians to have identified and revealed the paucity of this explanatory model. Just like Yuri Bessmertny, his contemporary and collaborator, Aaron Gourevitch claims as his masters the thinkers of the generation preceding 1917, the venerable traditionalist school treasuring erudition. His first masters were Aleksandre Neusyhin and Evgeny Kosminskij, both historians who completed their education before the revolution. He also considers to be influenced by Mikhaïl Bakhtin and Lew Karsawin⁶.

A historian of Western Middle Ages

When approaching Aaron Gourevitch's work and life, one cannot help wondering why he chose to take such an interest in Western medieval culture while living and working in Russia. His major works never refer or even allude to the situation in Russia, to its history, and no attempt at building parallelism is ever made.

Whereas a thinker like Mikhaïl Bakhtin devoted part of his writings to Russian literature, Aaron Gourevitch seems to be perfectly at ease exploring the meanders of a history and culture that are not his. Moreover, Evelyn Patlagean even claims view of *Catégories de la culture médiévale* that is quite eulogistic, otherwise, that the author's excellent method is not fit for ap-

5. We will quote by using the French translation *La naissance de l'individu dans l'Europe médiévale*, transl. Jean-Jacques Marie, (Paris: Seuil, 1997), foreword by Jacques le Goff.

6. *Culture populaire...*, p. 7.

proaching the history of Russia and other Slavic countries⁷. It is perhaps due to this silence as to Russian context and to his efforts towards Western realities that he was ready to write and teach in the Soviet Union, despite his marginalization. It is certain that his way to the Moscow University, where Nina Sidorova was dominating the scientific world, was and stayed closed to him, for quite some time.

It is significant, however, that all of his papers could be published under a totalitarian regime in which it was easy to raise suspicion by one's writings. The author admits that what he was really dreaming about was to study the history of the communist party in Russia, in order to understand the mechanisms of Stalinist domination. He has nonetheless realized that this kind of approach was not only impossible, as documents were all classified as secret, but even threatening to his physical presence⁸. His PhD director, Evgeny Kosminskij, asked him to deal with Byzantium, but some time later, the author decided to abandon this field of research, as he was becoming increasingly aware of the fact that the structures of Eastern World and the relationships between Orthodox Church and the State had been imposed on Russia, thus becoming one of the delicate points that he repelled. He even develops some kind of aversion to the Byzantium, that he holds responsible for the evils afflicting his country⁹. In both cases, Aaron Gourevitch proves to invest himself emotionally in the history of his own country, an affective involvement which, some way or other, makes him abandon the above fields of research¹⁰.

Medieval England, which he focuses on for his PhD, as well as Scandinavia and then the whole history of Western medieval mentalities, become a refuge which enabled him to write and study at peace with the communist regime as well as with his own conscience. This certainly does not mean that he is free from trouble. In the Soviet world, our author is cast off from the very beginning because of his Jewish origin¹¹. He was forbidden to apply for a PhD for

7. *Annales ESC*, n° 2, 1985, p. 428.

8. Aaron Gourevitch, 'Why I'm not a Byzantinist', in *Homo Byzantinus: Papers in honor of A. Kazhdan*, ed. by Anthony Culter, Simon Franklin, (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection 1992), p. 93.

9. 'Why I'm not...?', p. 94.

10. Avoiding in this way all the traps of the historicism and of the nationalism mentioned by Gerhard Otto Oexle, *L'historisme en débat. De Nietzsche à Kantorowicz*, (Paris: Aubier, 2001). See also Martin Aurell, 'Conclusions', in *Rewriting the Middle Ages in the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Jaume Aurell and Francisco Crosas, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 338-343.

11. Yelena Mazour-Matusevich, 'Writing Medieval History. An Interview with Aaron Gourevitch', *Journal of Medieval and early Modern Studies*, 35, 1, (2005), p. 153.

the same reason and had to strive for nine months - he even wrote to Stalin's cabinet to plead his cause - in order to be accepted¹². On the other hand, the section of medieval history he belonged to was a Department still loyal to ancient traditions, and his mentors were untouched by Stalinism, which was not in itself a very good starting point. That is why, after his PhD final delivery, on peasantry in the south west of England during the pre-Norman period¹³, he works until 1966 in the pedagogical institute of Kalinin (Tver), in very rough conditions, and in a provincial milieu that made access to sources and research very difficult. He does manage, however, to gather some documents, particularly with the help of his friends at the Philosophy Department of Leningrad (Saint Petersburg nowadays). He develops a growing interest in Scandinavia and already begins tackling culture.

At the beginning of 1966, after his post-doctoral fellowship on medieval Norway and Scandinavian countries, he works at the institute of philosophy in Moscow, where his employment was terminated in 1969 with the excuse that his qualifications did not correspond to the profile of the Institute¹⁴. He joins the Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences in the Soviet Union. Even as a representative of what is generally named 'the unofficial historiography' in the Soviet Union, he is not completely marginalized, and, although students are systematically kept away from becoming his disciples, he is allowed to write.

His book on feudalism raises questions among the Soviet professors in the 1970's, and it is banned from student use¹⁵. It also caused an indoor discussion leading to the banishment of the manager of the publishing house that agreed to publish his work¹⁶, but no further reaction is unleashed. There is no immediate response from the 'official' historians, in spite of his criticism at the Marxist in this book, which attempts proving, among other things, that feudalism is no longer a matter of exploitation of the weak by the potent, but also a system of interdependence between social strata, in which peasants are sometimes the ones who ask for protection from the noblemen.

12. 'Why I'm not...', p. 91.

13. With this thesis he already begins to distance himself from the methods of investigation used by Soviet historiography. His basis are the theories of F. Maitland about the agrarian values systems and their origins: see *Istorija Istorika*, (Moscow: Rosspen, 2004), pp. 131-132. This approach, even if it does not have immediate consequences, draws the attention of the official teachers to the author, who begins to be seen as a reactionary.

14. *Istorija Istorika*..., pp. 137-141.

15. Ibidem, p. 154.

16. 'Why I'm not...', p. 92.

How could one explain that, despite the odds, Aaron Gourevitch has practically managed to publish all his books? When approaching this subject, the author claims himself 'lucky'¹⁷. But the cause is perhaps the very nature of his objects of study. The beginning of his research develops within the framework of agrarian history, not only due to his Russian mentors who have specialized in it, but also to the nature of the subjects he tackles- peasantry and rural world first in England, then in Norway.

Before the revolution of 1917, however, Russian historiography was dominated by two trends: religious and agrarian history¹⁸. It is only the latter that proved able to survive in the Soviet world. As a matter of fact, once he began engaging with cultural problems, Aaron Gourevitch took a constant interest in peasantry, which, as a subject globally examined, was by no means a direct and frontal attack of dialectical materialism.

Soviet historiography, as well as all research in this field when undertaken in Eastern countries has been little concerned with the medieval period, globally perceived as a period of Church domination, of the Inquisition, of peasants and noblemen. Soviet historical thinking does not actualize the notion of a continuum between ages, which are artificially delineated, separated and perceived as being forever gone.

The West is also seen as a deeply *other* world, just as divorced from the Eastern world as ages were from one another. Hence, tackling the past is less dangerous in itself, having no direct impact on the life of the Soviet or East-European citizen, and if it is the others' past, it is even better from this point of view¹⁹. This is the reason why in most Eastern countries, national history should be completely rewritten and explored. Very few researchers studied the history of the Soviet nations, primarily because it was not the easiest route to accede to university posts, also because engaging in this field of research uncovers some inconvenient truths, which would have caused their work to remain forever unpublished.

This relative lack of concern with the remote ages from the past was, on the other hand, one of the openings in Soviet historiography, as it is from this very field that historians such as Aaron Gourevitch or Yuri Bessmertny were

17. Idem, p. 92.

18. *Stimmen des Mittelalters. Fragen von heute. Mentalität im Dialog*, (Frankfurt / New York: Campus, 1993), p. 87. Between the researchers of the religious history Aaron Gourevitch point to Lew Karsawin, with principles he has followed in an informal way.

19. In the debate generated by the *Genèse du féodalisme*, the argument of Eugenia Goutnova, Marxist historian, for defending Aaron Gourevitch, is that he only describes in his book the ideas of the 'bourgeois' western historiography, and so that he is not dangerous.

able to shake the foundations of dialectical materialism and undermine its principles. Aaron Gourevitch's global approach is that of an anthropologist rather than a historian. Unlike thinkers such as Marc Bloch, who underlined the necessity of living in the present to understand the past²⁰, Aaron Gourevitch constantly points at the fundamental otherness of the Middle Ages. In his work, however, history is perceived as a *continuum*, and the study of past events, even when they belong to *others* who are long gone, can and must shed a light on the present. Aaron Gourevitch states that historiography has an essential social function, representing the very foundation of a nation's self-consciousness, which cannot be correctly perceived unless it knows itself diachronically²¹. It is in this idea that he accepts, in 1993, Jacques Le Goff's invitation to prepare a French edition for la *Naissance de l'individu* in the collection entitled 'Faire l'Europe' of the Seuil publishing house²². That is perhaps the reason why, in spite of the fact that the history of the medieval Western world remains, for him, a way of reaching for otherness as a refuge, the author perfectly integrates the notion of responsibility to the present, which is inherent in the nature of his work.

A bridge between the Soviet Union and Europe

Teaching the history of medieval Western world in a way that is obviously different with that of Soviet professors is uncomfortable given the Aaron Gourevitch's social position, but it is not reason for him to run the highest risks, for, after all, his work is to a certain point legitimized by that of his predecessor Mikhail Bakhtin²³. It is rather his direct contact with Western Europe that raises a problem. Aaron Gourevitch is very well known in France. His work manages to capture the attention of Georges Duby, Jean-Claude Schmitt or Jacques Le Goff and he has more than a contribution at the *Annales*. French researchers probably helped him find the references missing at the libraries of Moscow or Leningrad, because, before the fall of the Soviet regime, he never managed to leave Russia and work in foreign libraries.

20. Aurell, 'Conclusions...», p. 339.

21. *Stimmen des Mittelalters...*, p. 85.

22. Jacques Le Goff does not forget to remind in his foreword that 'the engagement in the European enterprise must be done knowing all about the past, and in the perspective of the future'(p. 7).

23. Who also lived all his entire life in the Soviet Union and has written all his great work not far from Moscow.

However, progressive discovery is not a one-sided process. The Russian medievalist contributes from as early as the 1960's to make French historians known in his own country, due to the favorable course of events like Stalin's death and of a certain opening to the West. Together with Yuri Bessmertny, he manages to publish a series of articles and reviews that spread Georges Duby's ideas from the *Dimanche de Bouvines*, as well as from Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou*. The undertaking was the more risky as translation was almost forbidden in the Soviet Union, while collections of reviews were supposed to replace translations. Aaron Gourevitch also published the first Russian edition of Marc Bloch, in 1978.

Occupying the central position in the group of 'unofficial' historians, alongside with Yuri Bessmertny and Léonide Batkine, Aaron Gourevitch ran the most risk. Spreading the principles of the *Annales* French School in a direct manner, instead of doing it implicitly through his own work, was subversive, as the new French historiography was perceived as a bourgeois historiography, reactionary and erroneous in nature. This only represents another one of his bold attempts at overtly defending Russian academics such as Neusyhin, who enjoyed little confidence on the part of the regime²⁴. In the 1980's, in spite of a certain tendency of openness to Europe, two 'official' Russian historians launched an attack against the *Annales* School, whom they perceived to be guilty of practicing a reactionary historiography during the period, following the methodology of Marc Bloch and, even worse, Ferdinand Braudel. Their goal was to persuade the Soviet reader of the wantonness of French historiography which was just beginning to gain significance according to the Russian intelligentsia²⁵. In this context and this general atmosphere, making the *Annales* publicly known in the Soviet Union was a risky and courageous undertaking.

The regime's fall allowed Aaron Gourevitch and Yuri Bessmertny to organize, in 1989, a great international panel discussion in Moscow, to celebrate *Annales*' anniversary. He also became the founder of the *Odyseus* review, dedicated not only to the publication of new history articles, mostly centered on cultural history, but also on creating ties with foreign contributors, especially Western medievalists. His connections with the Western world, especially with France, would continue and Aaron Gourevitch first started traveling abroad

24. *Istoria Istorika...*, pp. 34-54.

25. These historians are N. Afanasev, *L'historisme contre l'éclectisme*, (Moscow: Mysl', 1980) et M. N. Sokolova, *L'historiographie française contemporaine* (Moscow, 1979). Their books have generated an answer in the *Annales* from Claudio Sergio Ingerflom, *Annales ESC*, 1, January-February 1982, pp. 64-71.

from Russia. Thus, he goes to Rome in 1988, thanks to the opening allowed by the Perestroika²⁶, then he is invited to deliver lectures in numerous countries such as the United States, France, England, Norway etc.

Nonetheless, despite his great admiration for French medievalists and especially for Jacques Le Goff, he does not abstain from criticizing faults in their methods. He particularly dislikes the closure of French historiography to the work done in other countries. As for the anthropological history of the Middle Ages, he notices that it is done through the sole point of view of French medieval sources, most of which are written in Latin and are silent about folklore. On the contrary, the Scandinavian world, which simply fascinates Aaron Gourevitch from the beginning of his career as a researcher, has abundant sources written in popular language and, therefore, a better indicator of popular mentalities²⁷. What he really reproaches French historiography is a certain 'francocentrism' still visible nowadays.

Towards the new history – a Cultural History

Aaron Gourevitch's research aims at reaching the human being, the individual and its mentalities. He considerably renews the historical vision, by an attempt to re-humanize history. Towards the end of his career, he sums his own goals in the following statement:

"The essence of historical anthropology consists in revealing the human content of history in all the manifestations of man as a social being and above all, in achieving a qualitatively new historical synthesis".²⁸

His interest in culture had already awaken during the period of his post-doctoral research and it was his work on the Scandinavian world that definitely opened his eyes to the fact that medieval peasants were not mere producers of material goods, but also producers of culture, in many ways and many respects²⁹.

26. *Istorija Istorika...*, pp. 260-261.

27. Mazour-Matusevich, 'Writing Medieval...', p. 141. See also *Istorija Istorika...*, pp. 121-146.

28. A. Gourevitch, *Historical anthropology of the Middle Ages*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 3.

29. *Istorija Istorika...*, pp. 64-70. See also 'Why am I a Scandinavist?', in *Celebrating creativity. Essays in honour of Jostein Børtnes*, ed. by Knut Andreas Grimstad and Ingunn Lunde, (Bergen: University of Bergen 1997), pp. 314-324.

In the 1970's, *l'Évolution du féodalisme* proved to be a powerful blow to Marxism, which the author dealt in an open and explicit way, by stating that economic and social relationships cannot be correctly apprehended if they are not placed in their mental frames. The process of moving from an economical explanatory model to the history of mentalities leads directly to the creation of research methods that deal with cultural history. This change took place in Russian historiography at the same time when, in France, the *Annales* school was strengthening the foundations of the history of mentalities. Aaron Gourevitch's scientific evolution is largely similar to that of Georges Duby, François Furet, Jacques Le Goff, etc. Our author began taking a certain interest in medieval cultural usage in the long run at the very moment when Jacques Le Goff was writing: 'I belong to a generation of historians marked by the problems of the *longue durée*'³⁰. He was, however, willing to distinguish his approach from Le Goff's, which he refines by explaining that the latter was interested especially in dynamic phenomena of culture, related to the social strata of the elite, whereas he examined rather the static aspects of the inferior strata of society, which are more reluctant to change³¹.

Aaron Gourevitch's thinking evolves in a way that becomes quite predictable. He reveals so refractory to Marxism by criticizing Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff for the vestiges of Marxist thought, which showed their work³². It is pretty interesting to notice that, on his turn, Georges Duby criticizes the same aspect, in his preface to the *Catégories*. This kind of "Marxist witch hunt" which makes thinkers of the same generation suspect each other of spots of dialectical Marxism, point to them and reproach one another with them as if they were talking of symptoms of an infamous disease, is perhaps revelatory of all the uneasiness their generation has been experiencing while striving to liberate themselves from the influence of Marxist thinking, systematically called back to life, like a phoenix.

Two years after his study on feudalism, the author fructifies his vast project of cultural history by publishing his *Catégories de la culture médiévale*. The radiograph of medieval society, executed on a multitude of heterogeneous sources--literature, diplomacy, preaching, penitential documents, legal docu-

30. Jacques Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1977), p. 9. The same reflections are important in the work of Aaron Gourevitch who in 2004 will write, in order to resume his method: '...popular culture changes extremely slowly, not at a revolutionary, but at an evolutionary pace. In order to trace these changes, we need to observe immense periods of time'. (Mazour-Matusevich, 'Writing medieval...', p. 138).

31. Mazour-Matusevich, 'Writing medieval...', p. 139.

32. Ibidem, p. 128 et p. 140.

ments or jurisprudence--leads to important results. What we have is an explanatory attempt unprecedented even in French historiography, an account of the culture of the Western past across a model that is perfectly operative by its simplicity and synthetic power. It is certain that his model is still reminiscent of Marxist reductionism. Work and wealth remain fundamental categories in understanding the culture and mindset of medieval man. More than a weakness, the simplicity of Gourevitch's historiography is precisely its strength. It is a system that is just as synthetic and operational as Marxist historiography, and is therefore, capable of great success due to its ability to integrate those basic human needs of self sustenance through work and thriving through accumulation of wealth. While remaining cast in the classical mould, the author surpasses it by introducing the mental and moral aspect³³. Wealth in the Middle Ages cannot be understood without discussing its inherent risks, the sin of cupidity³⁴. Work is not just an activity that aims at the production of material goods. It is also a channel for carrying moral values for certain social strata³⁵. Human freedom is impossible to understand without referring to free will³⁶. Also, by his moral outlook, Aaron Gourevitch opens himself up to the approach of problems of absolute necessity for understanding Western Middle Ages: the Church and the Christian experience of medieval man. His major reproach to Bakhtin's work was precisely the absolute lack of any notion of God in his explanatory system³⁷.

His approach to the medieval phenomenon of religion owes more to cultural anthropology than to theology³⁸. Religion remains a cultural fact³⁹, just

33. Georges Duby speaks about this essential nuance in his new foreword, p. XI, and he argues that the author 'is not contradicting Marx, but he is cleaning with a gesture the reminiscences of a narrow-minded Marxism that still burden here and there the ways of our researches and come in the way of these young French medievalists who are also loyal, and who are preparing today to consider Christianity and the Church as the pivot of the feudal production way'.

34. *Catégories...*, p. 242 sq.

35. *Ibidem*, p. 264 sq.

36. *Ibidem*, p. 291 sq.

37. Mazour-Matusevich, 'Writing Medieval...', p. 134.

38. Even if in the *Historical anthropology...*, p. 10, the author says that historical anthropology is a discipline directly related to the moral content of the humanities.

39. 'We risk understanding nothing of medieval culture if we stand by the idea that this age was dominated by ignorance and obscurantism: everybody believed in God (...). Things that are false for us were true to the men of those ages, this was the supreme truth around which one formed all one's representations and ideas, the truth to which all their cultural and social values were related'. (*Catégories...*, p. 7).

as it is for Jean-Claude Schmitt, writing in France at the same time as Gourevitch. Undoubtedly, his research goes beyond the insurmountable threshold of the Marxist model, in which the phenomenon of religion is absent. But once the Church gains its place in the mechanism of medieval culture, there appears the risk, of which Georges Duby quickly became aware⁴⁰, of turning the Church into the dominant class and Christianity into the 'official' religion⁴¹. Aaron Gourevitch elegantly avoids that risk. In the first part of his two-volume work, he observes that the arts were dominated by religious forms of expression, literature by hagiography, architecture by cathedrals, etc. Ten years later, in *Culture Populaire*, he notes what current historiography proposed as an explanation for this phenomenon, namely that the Middle Ages were dominated by Catholicism, and he proceeds to dismantle that theory⁴². Clearly, the Church exerts a direct and primordial type of influence over all written culture and the arts, however, in his study, the author avoids taking the all too simplistic view according to which the elite and popular cultures, unfailingly separated and opposed, are pitted against each other as two distinct 'classes'. Aaron Gourevitch shows that the two 'cultures' are in a permanent relationship of interdependence and that they are deeply embedded one in the other⁴³. It is precisely this argument which helps him overcome one of the most difficult obstacles that faced research on popular culture, namely the absence of sources⁴⁴: he manages, with unparalleled subtlety, to extract information on the lower social strata with the help of and across scholarly sources. However, he often has the tendency, quickly refined and held in check, to consider the Church as a sort of dominant class.

Aaron Gourevitch and the medieval Church

At first sight, Aaron Gourevitch has an ambiguous relationship with the medieval Church, towards which he shows a kind of attraction-repulsion,

40. G. Duby, 'Foreword', p. 12.

41. *Culture populaire...*, p. 11.

42. Ibidem, pp. 11-12.

43. In this point he is following exactly the same methodological approach as Jean-Claude Schmitt, for whom the elite culture and the popular culture are in permanent conflict, but not as systems entirely separated but entertaining a permanent exchange through the conflicts: *Le saint lévrier. Guinefort guérisseur d'enfants depuis le XIII^e siècle*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1979), p. 9.

44. See Pierre Boggioni, 'La culture populaire au Moyen Age : thèmes et problèmes', *La culture populaire au Moyen Age*. Etudes présentées au Quatrième colloque de l'Institut d'Etudes Médiévales de l'Université de Montréal (2-3 avril 1977), ed by P. Boggioni, (Montréal: Editions de l'Aurore, 1979), p. 16 sq.

which adds complexity to his view. By medieval Church we are, of course, referring to the Catholic Church; the author shows little respect for Orthodoxy and openly criticizes it:

“It is utterly different from the relationship between secular and spiritual authority in the West: not the equilibrium, opposition, and interaction of two powers, but the servility of the spiritual leaders in the face of the state. This total dependence of the church on the state is constant throughout Russian history, regardless of any changes in the social structure”⁴⁵.

It can be noticed that, if Russia has, in his opinion, no Middle Ages, the Orthodox Church can be said to lack this period as well.

The brightest and most objective minds are not free of contemporary influences⁴⁶. It is possible that his severe judgment on the Orthodox Church from a diachronic perspective may be rooted in his immediate experience: the revolt of seeing the servile passivity of the Church when confronted by the Communist totalitarian regime. The author seems to forget that it is this constant passivity, this apolitical stand, which is founded on the evangelical principle of giving to Caesar what is Caesar's and the profound belief that Christ's kingdom is not of this world, that enabled the Orthodox Church to survive under tyrannical and totalitarian governments. It is this apparent submission that has kept Orthodox societies deeply Christian up to the present times, in spite of Communism, unlike their Western counterparts, who are now considerably secularized. However, in the historic context of Russia or of any other Orthodox countries, the attempt of opposing a State of despotic tendency would have been a show of suicidal arrogance, one that would have led to massive repression and violence. Furthermore, considering threats from non-Christian peoples, like the Tatars in Russia, the Turks in Bulgaria or in the Romanian principalities, the Church and the State were left with no other choice but that of stable alliance.

Aaron Gourevitch's attitude towards the Catholic Church is more positive, although some of his statements sound rather contradictory. On the one hand, some of the Church representatives are termed ‘ideologists’⁴⁷, who try to exert ideological and moral control over society⁴⁸. According to him, we

45. Mazour-Matusevich, ‘Writing medieval...’, pp. 94-95.

46. Even if Aaron Gourevitch is aware from this risk in his other works where he is notifying that one of the great traps for an historian is to questioning the past through the perspective of the present: ‘A Historian's Territory’, *Istoriik i vremâ, Odyseus*, (1994), pp. 81-110.

47. *Culture populaire...*, p. 10.

48. *Ibidem*, p. 147.

cannot detect any trace of a truly individual conscience and individual growth in an intellectual world that is totally controlled by the Church, which stifles any personal initiative. This is perhaps why Gourevitch finds the Scandinavian heroes best fit to embody, due to their egocentrism, the reality of the individual⁴⁹. On the other hand, individualism remains after all a product of Christianity, and it can be found in an embryonic stage in mystical thinking⁵⁰. With respect to witch-hunt, Gourevitch affirms that it is not characteristic of the Middle Ages, but of later periods⁵¹. This could be the outcome of a very interesting phenomenon, able to keep the Church out of blame: theology was not the author of witch-hunt; instead, popular beliefs influenced and dominated scholarly thinking, which eventually succumbed to these beliefs. This particularly original interpretation leads to a phenomenon of 'acculturation' of the elite by the masses⁵².

Moreover, the medieval Christian parish is a place where believers spy on each other, under the direct supervision of the priest, where each member's sin is everybody's business, hence, denying the person the right to privacy in an atmosphere of moral pressure⁵³. Penitence inflicted to Christians, such as the 'cross', the 'discipline' or the *palmatae* are often similar to sheer torture and in no way different from the punishments in the barbarian law codes⁵⁴; whereas the sublimation of the sexual instinct, imposed by the clergy, provokes collective manifestations of hysteria and condemns certain individuals to a frustrating celibacy leading to perversions⁵⁵.

We could therefore affirm that, if clerical writings and popular beliefs influence each other, there is despite all an intention on the part of the Church to dominate, even or stifle popular culture, although the result could sometimes go contrary to such an endeavour. Thus, it is compulsory to moderate this point of view. Medieval Catholicism is sure to have tried to implement acculturation of other beliefs and forms of expression, and of having achieved direct social influence through ideological constructions. One only needs to look at the mechanisms of chivalric ideology inoculated by the Church to members of aristocracy – such as they have been examined by Georges Duby and Jean Flori – in order to realize that similar attempts were carried out on

49. *Naissance de l'individu...*, pp. 33-115 et p. 298.

50. *Ibidem*, p. 256.

51. *Culture populaire...*, p. 378.

52. Mazour-Matusevich, 'Writing Medieval...', p. 147.

53. *Culture populaire...*, p. 147.

54. *Ibidem*, p. 64.

55. *Ibidem*, p. 173-174.

cultural manifestations in the rural and in the urban milieu, on the merchant and on the bourgeois social strata. However, what generates this type of attempt is the goal of controlling violence, which, in its various forms, is a central and ubiquitous phenomenon in society and in medieval culture, and which Aaron Gourevitch approaches only sporadically. One of his methods of investigation, which consists in exploding chronological barriers and borrowing examples from the 16th and even the 19th century⁵⁶, leads him to brilliant results on an anthropological level. Nevertheless, on a strictly historical level, this method can generate somewhat deceiving mirror reflections. It is true that, when his investigations go beyond the chronological boundaries of the Middle Ages, the author is careful to take examples from the rural world, because practices change more slowly or do not even change at all in such an environment. However, he never fails to point out that there is a permanent flow of cultural interdependence between the rural and the clerical worlds, a fact which he observes and demonstrates, but which he does not always take into consideration, even though it could influence the apparent rural 'immobility' in a way which is difficult to measure. That is why the medieval Church is sometimes mistaken for the Church of the later centuries. Describing the medieval parish, Aaron Gourevitch seems in fact to talk about the control mechanisms of the communist regime under which he lived, or about the rigid and unyielding Catholicism in the face of 16th century Reform. The sublimation of sexual desire generated various forms of hysteria particularly in the 19th century, whereas in the Middle Ages it was the chaotic and uncontrolled, even unnatural sexual practices of a society still not thoroughly Christianized and only little capable of mastering its drives, which pushed the clergy to such a strict control of the sexual practices of their believers. Likewise, Aaron Gourevitch seems at times to mistake medieval Catholicism for absolutism, or even for certain modern and contemporary parishes, where people still spy on one another, control consciences and deny an individual's right to privacy.

56. For instance, the story of Martin Guerre in the 16th century (*Naissance de l'individu...*, p. 301 sq) or the case of peasants discribed by Axel Munthe in the 19th century (*culture populaire...*, p. 365).

From cultural history to history: methodologies

Even so, Aaron Gourevitch's approach as a cultural historian is limited to a space, which defines itself more clearly and becomes narrower as his thought evolves. From the history of medieval culture, the author moves on to a history of cultures, and later limits himself to the history of the individual. Although his project is, obviously, a project of cultural history, there are multiple overlapping and we would be wrong to confine the work of this eminent medievalist to the format of cultural history, which is not so well defined. We should also classify him not only as a historian of culture, but also of mentalities, given the rather unclear boundary between the two and the fact that most French historians seem to practice both. Thus, both Georges Duby and Robert Muchembled are historians of mentalities and of culture. Furthermore, for Aaron Gourevitch, the notion of culture is very similar to that of 'mentalities'. He defines culture as a *Weltanschauung*, as a whole including mentalities of the entire world:

"By culture, anthropology understands the world picture and behavioral practices of small and large groups of individuals that contain all the major components of life: wealth, space, time, sex, mythology, family, warfare, et cetera"⁵⁷.

He opposes the notions of 'culture' and 'mentalities' to that of 'civilization', whose connotations remind him of Marxism, and he even deplores the fact that this term has been adopted by contemporary French historiography⁵⁸.

Structuralism is undoubtedly a general framework that Aaron Gourevitch has never abandoned. Looking diachronically at his writings in cultural history, we realize that he goes from the macro-structure that culture represents for him, to the structures it includes, popular culture, the culture of the elite, passing through micro-groups (families) or micro-structures (the parish) only to arrive ultimately at the individual, a sort of morpheme in his system of thought⁵⁹. The structuralist influences are perhaps a result of his work with the Tartu structuralist school, formed in the 1960's under the leadership of Yuri Lotman⁶⁰. On the other hand, the Bakhtinian legacy is not negligible in

57. Mazour-Matusevich, 'Writing Medieval...', p. 142.

58. Idem.

59. The terms of *macrocosme*, *microcosme*, *micro-groups*, perceived as embedded structures, come up all the time in his work, like in *Naissance de l'individu...*, p. 115, *Catégories...*, p. 47 sq, etc.

60. One must keep in mind that the structuralist method is not only seen from a scientific point of view, but also from a political one. The 'official historians' designate as 'structuralist',

his approach. History is perceived as a permanent dialogue between the past and the present, between the people of yesteryear and those of today, and ultimately, between diverse types of otherness⁶¹. Sources are also a place of dialogue between the sender and the receiver, either a contemporary or a historian from our times⁶². Dialogism and the chronotope are notions that he openly borrowed from Bakhtin's thought, and which he highly appreciated, despite the many criticisms he brought against his predecessor⁶³.

The long passages dedicated to gift-giving and the return of the gift underline his debt to Marcel Mauss and hence to anthropology, easily identifiable everywhere in his writings. His cultural history is presented in the form of essays of cultural, mostly structuralist, anthropology. Even more, the 1970's witness an interesting crossover of history and ethnology, one of the results being a totalizing and globalizing history which goes beyond the events and is interested in the slow and hidden changes which happen in the background⁶⁴.

On the other hand, the study of the individual calls upon philosophy and its means of expression, as well as psychology and literary criticism⁶⁵. The literary approach, mainly kept at a distance from the main areas of his research before the 1990's, becomes essential in *The Birth of the Individual*. The literature of Scandinavian sagas brings to light the only manifestations of individualism according to the author, and this would not be possible without the structure of literary differentiation, which takes the heroes out of social and community norms.

Cultural history recalls and underlines the big problem of social history, whose development in Russia was a little behind France. Meanwhile, Aaron's

in a pejorative way, all the researchers who are threatening the Marxism ('Why I'm not...', p. 92).

61. *Stimmen des Mittelalters...*, p. 83 sq. See also 'Die Geschichte als Dialog mit den Menschen vergangener Epochen', in *Theorie der Modernen Geschichtsschreibung*, ed. by Pietro Rossi, (Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp, 1987, pp. 266-273.

62. *Culture populaire...*, p. 74.

63. Mazour-Matusevich, 'Writing Medieval...', p. 138. Nevertheless, he tries to create nuances and to modify the notion of *chronotope* in his *Catégories*. One of his great criticisms to M. Bakhtine concerns the methodology; he deplores the fact that, without a solid argumentative basis, the great medievalist considered the carnival as representative for medieval popular culture, and moreover, he did so by relying on an author of the Renaissance: this closes the door to an exhaustive approach, with heterogeneous sources (See Mazour-Matusevich, 'Writing Médieval...', pp. 135-136).

64. Le Goff, *Pour un autre...*, p. 9.

65. *Naissance de l'individu...*, p. 11.

Gourevitch's works lead up to it, subtly and without making an explicit statement, unlike the works of Yuri Bessmertny, who introduces a new program of social approach in Russian historiography. Even as he lays the foundation of his work as cultural historian, Aaron Gourevitch continues to think in terms of social strata and layers. He does not tackle the problems of parenthood and family, the central axis, as it were, of social history⁶⁶. Nevertheless, he approaches culture as strictly embedded in social frameworks. The merchants and the bourgeois are explored in his research on the individual and the person, the intellectuals have their place in the study of the categories of medieval thinking, and the clergy have their own social stratum. As for the study of popular culture, it represents a vast analysis of the lower social strata of society, which the author considers beyond the terminological frontier which turns them into *laboratores*, and beyond the phenomenon of class, since the country gentry share an entire range of cultural references with the peasants. He draws conclusions regarding the life of society from studying phenomena pertaining to cultural anthropology. In doing so, Gourevitch indirectly anticipates Roger Chartier in 1989 with respect to his thought on cultural history, generally perceived as entirely different from history. According to this theorist of the new history, one must not start from social divisions to arrive at cultural specificity, but the other way round, it is through culture that one manages to understand social stratification⁶⁷. While examining penitential books to uncover traits of popular culture, Aaron Gourevitch manages thus to see the constant dimensions of the ways in which the parish, as a unit of his social macrocosm, functions⁶⁸. He will formulate his perception of the relation between cultural history and social history in 1992, in a similar way to Roger Chartier: 'One cannot understand a system of social relations and functions unless one knows something of the consciousness and of the emotional life of the people of that society'⁶⁹. Moreover, surveying an entire range of beliefs, manifestations and customs of a mix of different social classes, the author goes well beyond the notion of 'class', thus becoming one of the first medievalists to open the way to an innovative sociological approach, based on a balanced view between the 'complexity' of medieval society and the need to make it adhere to an interpretive model, which is a direction of research that will make

66. Georges Duby is astonished in his Foreword that the author quips about the silences of the familial structures in the *Les catégories*.

67. Roger Chartier, 'Le monde comme représentation', *Annales ESC*, 6, nov-déc, 1989, pp. 1505-1520.

68. *Culture populaire...*, p. 146 sq.

69. 'Why I'm not...', p. 96.

George Duby's disciple, Martin Aurell, argue in 2005 that 'only these connections between social complexity and rational simplicity enable one to build an operational stratification for the Middle Ages.'⁷⁰ Even research about the individual leads directly to conclusions about society, as the author notes that the individual blends in his environment and, to a certain extent, in society⁷¹. Choosing specific sources such as biographies of merchants in order to measure the efficiency of sermons, Aaron Gourevitch draws conclusions that are inevitably general with regard to the medieval person and the world of the merchants. Nevertheless, with respect to works that hold totalizing ambitions and conclusions, it is useless to try to uncover a method, because their value resides in the intersection of methodologies, which they make up.

The importance of Aaron Gourevitch's prodigious work cannot be summarized in a few lines. The significance of his contributions is not limited to the sphere of medieval studies. Aaron Gourevitch is an anthropologist, a historian, a linguist and an ethnologist, all at the same time. First and foremost, however, he is a specialist in the human being and its mental horizon, understood in its different shades and manifestations. Studying culture is an attempt to seize the essence of the human being of times past and present. While Aaron Gourevitch is the first researcher to have introduced in Russia the interest in culture, he was clearly ahead of European researchers on other issues. His vast erudition as well as his intuition for nuances and his great capacity for reflection have enabled him to build a system, a grid of total interpretation of European culture as a whole. Throughout his life, he has been a missionary in the service of understanding the *other*, without letting himself be discouraged either by the difficult work conditions under communism, or by the blindness which plagued him in his final years.

Chronology

1924. Aaron Gourevitch is born on May 12.

1947-1950. He works on his PhD in Medieval History.

1950- 1962. He works on post doctoral dissertation in Medieval History.

1950-1966. He teaches at the Pedagogical Institute of Kalinin (Tver).

70. Martin Aurell, 'Complexité sociale et simplification rationnelle : dire la stratification au Moyen Âge', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 48, (2005), p. 15.

71. *Naissance de l'individu...*, p. 306.

- 1966-1969. He teaches at the Philosophy Institute of Moscow.
 1969-2006. He is member of the Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences in Russia.
 1989-2006. He is chief editor of the review *Odysseus: The human being during the history*.
 1993-2006. He serves as Director of the Centre for Studies of Cultural History.
 2006. Gourevitch dies on April 5.

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Aaron Gurevich Memorial Conference, Moscow, September 25-26, 2007, organized by the Center of Cultural and Historical Anthropology – Institute of Universal History of the Academy of Sciences of Russia.

A.H. de Oliveira Marques (1933 – 2007)

Judite A. Gonçalves de Freitas

To write an intellectual biography of Oliveira Marques is, to some extent, to trace the evolution of medieval Portuguese historiography since the 1960's, within the scope of economic and social history and studies in local and regional history. Consequently, the aim of this text is to highlight the contribution of Oliveira Marques to the renewal of Portuguese historiography in general and the effects of his opus major as a Medievalist, touching on the innovative nature of the themes he explored, the topicality of his historical conceptions and the impact his work had within the community of *Clio* professionals and the less-specialised public. In this context, the focus will obviously be on new scientific approaches, the relation with the dominant historiographic tendencies at the time and the way in which he interpreted highly diverse historical realities, showing himself to be proof against historiographic «fashions».

A. H. de Oliveira Marques was a multi-faceted personality who was not merely a medievalist, nor an author who confined himself to studying a few themes or areas of interest from the medieval period; this tends to render the explanation and summary of his extensive and varied work even more complex but nonetheless appealing. Even so, we can state that throughout his academic life most of his time was occupied with the Middle Ages, although other eras and themes did merit equal attention, mainly the Contemporary period and the origins and development of Masonry in Portugal¹. As few others, he cultivated the *métier d'historien*!

He was a university professor, researcher, philatelist, translator, director of the National Library, a long-time coordinator of various collections of Portuguese history, responsible for editing the historical sources, and one of the founders of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at the Universidade

1. From an early age he was interested in philately, and this contributed towards the development of a methodical mind as well as broadening his international contacts. Stamps were the subject of his first publications, with a first volume published under the title *História do Selo Postal Português* (2 vols, Oporto-Lisbon, 1954 -1958). There is an extended and improved edition in three volumes, published by Planeta in 1996.

Nova de Lisboa², which establishment he graced throughout his academic career. In all of his public activities and his treatment of the most diverse historical themes, he displayed remarkable dedication and consummate scientific objectivity and rigour, whilst never ceasing to affirm, with conviction and strong sense of criticism, his ideological and political stamp, throughout a period when the expression of freedoms was no easy matter (1960-1974/76).

One Life, One Course, One Work

António Henrique Rodrigo de Oliveira Marques was born in Cascais in 1933 and died in Lisbon in 2007. He attended two secondary schools in Lisbon, the Liceu Camões and the Liceu Gil Vicente and in 1956 completed his degree in Historical and Philosophical Sciences at the Arts Faculty of Lisbon University with a final dissertation entitled: *A Sociedade em Portugal nos séculos XII a XIV* (Society in Portugal in the XII to XV Centuries), which was supervised by Virgínia Rau³ (1907-1973). He won a research grant from the Institute of High Culture at the University of Würzburg in Germany, where he worked with Hermann Kellenbenz⁴ (1913-1990), whom he greatly admired and esteemed, not only for his teaching but also for the influence of his disciplined way of working and his opening up of new horizons, that provided him with a 'superior cultura de espírito'⁵. On his return to Portugal, he taught in the Arts Faculty at Lisbon University from 1957 to 1964, holding

2. Hereinafter FCSH-UNL.

3. She was awarded her doctorate in Historical Sciences in 1947 by the Arts Faculty at the University of Lisbon, where she taught Portuguese Medieval history. She was a member of the Academia Portuguesa de História and founded and directed the Centro de Estudos Históricos, at what was then called the Instituto de Alta Cultura, an annex to the Arts Faculty of Lisbon University, a School she directed between 1964 and 1969. She wrote various works, including *Sesmarias Medievais Portuguesas* (doctoral thesis), *A Casa dos Contos* (1951) a pioneering monograph study on public finance and taxation in the Middle Ages and *A exploração e Comércio do Sal de Setúbal*.

4. A historian of the Middle Ages who dedicated himself to studying the activity of the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the Middle Ages, having published an article in Portugal entitled: 'The Economic Importance and Social Position of the Sephardic Jews in Spain at the end of the Middle Ages', in *Do Tempo e da História* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos, 1971, vol. IV), pp. 35-51 and 'Alemães em Portugal' ('Germans in Portugal'), in *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, dir. J. Serrão (Porto: Figueirinhas, 1963), pp. 89-91.

5. 'superior culture of the mind'. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média* (Lisbon, 1959), p. 7.

the chairs of *Palaeography and Diplomatics*, *Medieval History* and *Theory of History*, and acting as assistant to Virgínia Rau for *History of Portugal I*. He obtained his doctorate in June 1960 in the same Faculty with a dissertation entitled: *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média* (Hansa and Portugal in the Middle Ages)⁶.

1962 was a crucial year for the academic career of A. H. de Oliveira Marques. In that year he applied for the post of extraordinary professor, submitting a monograph study entitled *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal. A questão cerealífera durante a Idade Média* (Introduction to the History of Agriculture in Portugal. The cereals question during the Middle Ages), published in 1962. Opposition to the authoritarian regime of António Oliveira Salazar (1932-1968), gave rise to the so-called 'academic crisis' between March and May, which led to the selection process being closed. During the 'academic crisis' A. H. de Oliveira Marques manifested his support for the students, and this led to his isolation within the academia and his subsequent withdrawal from the University. Shortly before leaving for the USA, he once again applied for a post, but the more conservative sectors in his School did not forgive him and instigated a new suspension. "Como forma de protesto, Oliveira Marques pede então a demissão do lugar de primeiro-assistente e da Função Pública"⁷.

Shortly after that, in 1965, he left for the USA, where he taught successively at the University of Alabama (Auburn), as Associate Professor, and the Universities of Florida (Gainesville), Columbia, Minnesota and Chicago in the category of Full Professor, from 1966 onwards. He was also invited to speak at conferences in some of the most prestigious US universities, until 1969.

During that time he published his first works on the end of the Monarchy and the implantation of the Republican regime from 1900 to the late 1920's, evincing prosopographical tendencies that were pioneering and original at that time, by studying the biographical data of the political agents of the Monarchy and the Republic (1910-1926), considering their ages, generations, *cursus honorum*, education levels and the functions they performed⁸.

6. Published by the Author in 1959.

7. "In protest, Oliveira Marques then asked to resign from his post of first-assistant and from Civil Service". A. L. de Carvalho Homem, 'A. H. de Oliveira Marques: Percurso Biográfico', in *Na Jubilação universitária de A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, coord. A. L. de Carvalho Homem and M. H. da Cruz Coelho (Coimbra: Minerva, 2003), p. 12.

8. A. L. de Carvalho Homem, p. 13, n. 5.

On his return to Portugal in 1970, in the 'Primavera Marcelista', Education Minister Veiga Simão gave him a research grant in the country. After the April 1974 Revolution, he turned down the offer to join the academic body of his original School due to the turbulence during the post-revolutionary period. Hence, between 1974 and 1976 he was Director of the National Library of Lisbon. He was part of the committee that set up the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa (FCHS-UNL), a recently created teaching unit, where he was Full Professor from 1976. He was Chair of the Advisory Board of the same Faculty from 1981-1983 and 1983/84 to 1986. In this framework, he was one of the main driving forces in establishing the Degree in History at FCHS-UNL, following the curriculum reform in higher education implemented via decree-law 53/78 by the Minister of Education Mário Sotelo Mayor Cardia, likewise the Masters courses in Medieval History and 19th-20th Century History. All this was achieved from the 1980's onwards. In 1982, in recognition of his prestigious career and vast opus, he was honoured with the publication of two volumes of *Estudos de História de Portugal, Homenagem a A. H. de Oliveira Marques*. In 1993 he joined the Department of German Studies at FCHS-UNL as Chair of *History of Culture*, where he remained until his retirement in 2002/2003.

A New Portuguese Medieval History?

An interval of half a century separates the start of the academic career of A. H. de Oliveira Marques and his death (1957-2007). In analysing his intellectual work during this period (as professor and researcher), we can assign four major stages that reflect the influence of his work on Portuguese medieval historiography, although this does not mean to say that the passage to a new phase corresponds to an absolute break with the conceptions, themes and problems of the preceding phase(s)⁹. This organising criterion was chosen as it seemed the most apposite for the reader, showing most clearly the changes, co-existences, anticipations and formal continuities of his historiographical opus as a medievalist in relation to contemporary authors.

9. A summary of 'A medievalidade na obra de A. H. de Oliveira Marques', may be found in M. H. da Cruz Coelho, *Na Jubilação de A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, coord. A. L. de Carvalho Homem and M. H. da Cruz Coelho (Coimbra: Minerva, 2003), pp. 23-44.

a) 1957-1964/5 – *The mentor of a New Middle Ages in Portugal*

This first phase covers the period from his years as lecturer at the Arts Faculty of the Universidade de Lisboa to his resignation from civil service 1964. In this period, the themes selected were basically on economic and social aspects of the Portuguese Middle Ages. Consequently, the early studies fall within the scope of economic history of the Middle Ages, in line with the interpretive analyses made in other countries on the pre-industrial economic systems, establishing a link between economic activities and social environments. In the first work he published in this area, 'A Pragmática de 1340'¹⁰ (The Pragmatics of 1340), he analysed the conditions of one of the first laws regulating the consumption of foodstuffs and clothing according to the different strata of society, a law promulgated by King Afonso IV (1325-1357) at the Cortes of Santarém. Analysis of this document was based on the perspectives of a number of national authors who had dedicated themselves to the study of national economic history¹¹, but it closely followed the interpretive lines of authors such as Michael M. Postan¹², Charles Verlinden¹³ and Carlo Cipolla (1922-2000)¹⁴. One year later, in 1958, he gave a seminar on the Peste Negra em Portugal (*Black Death in Portugal*), a theme which occupied him until 1963, from the perspective of establishing the relations between the economic, social and demographic factors¹⁵. On reading these works, what stands

10. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa*, t. XXII, 2nd series, n.º 2, 1956, p. 130-154; re-ed. in *Ensaios de História Medieval* (Lisbon: Portugalia, 1965), pp. 125-160.

11. To name some: Rebelo da Silva (1822-1871), João Lúcio de Azevedo (1855-1933) and Henrique da Gama Barros (1833-1925).

12. Lecturer in Economic History at the London School of Economics from the late 1920's. Some of his main works are: 'The Trade of Medieval Europe: the North', in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, vol. II, *Trade and Industry in The Middle Ages*, ed. by M.M. Postan and E.E. Erich (Cambridge: University Press, 1952), pp. 119-256; *Medieval Economy and Society* (1972); *Essays on Medieval Agriculture & General Problems of the Medieval Economy* (1973).

13. French-speaking historian who wrote in the *Revista Portuguesa de História* (Coimbra) from 1949, on themes related with the colonization of the Atlantic archipelagos and European influence on the colonization of post-Colombian America. Author of, inter alia, *L'esclavage dans l'Europe Medieval* (1977).

14. Historian of Medieval Economic History who published, inter alia: *Studi di storia della moneta: i movimenti dei cambi in Italia dal secolo XIII al XV* (1948); *Money, Prices and Civilization* (1956) and *The Economic History of World Population* (1962).

15. A balance on the subject is presented by the Author in 'Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV e XV', in *Nova História de Portugal*, dir. J. Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques (Lisbon: Presença, 1986).

out is Oliveira Marques' great concern to analyse the social factor, linking it to questions within the field of economics, following the works of the *Annales* approach.

On the other hand, one must not underrate the influence of Virginia Rau in these early works. She had supervised his undergraduate dissertation entitled *A Sociedade em Portugal nos séculos XII a XIV: Subsídios para a sua história* (1957)¹⁶; a monograph study that was rather original for its time and that foreshadowed the author's ability to select and deal with unexpected themes. This text explained and interrelated the themes such as food, clothing, housing, hygiene and health, relationships, labour, beliefs, culture, entertainment and death of the medieval man. The Oliveira Marques' main concern was to unveil the everyday existence of the clergy, the nobility and the people in the private sphere, and this is one of the original aspects of his work. As he stressed, what interested him most was 'saber como esta gente se comportava perante uma alegria ou uma tristeza; qual a expressão normal dos sentimentos; quais as possíveis diferenças sociais e económicas que as condicionavam'¹⁷. This work foreshadows the appearance of history of the everyday and material culture in Portugal, via the group of sources that allow for an understanding of everyday existence: text, images and material objects. That is to say, he approaches new themes from contemporary perspectives following a research methodology that combines textual and non-textual sources. Aware of the change in historiographic trends effected by the successive generations of the *Annales* School, he states as follows, "Hoje [anos 60] interessa-nos muito menos a descrição e a análise da vida dos heróis e dos reis; não porque os julgamos inúteis ou desinteressantes, mas porque a sabemos condicionada pela economia e sociedade [...] interessa muito mais a vida colectiva dos povos"¹⁸.

16. A work that would be published for the first time in 1964, reformulated, under the title *A Societies Medieval Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa). The translation was entitled: *Daily Life in Portugal in the Late Middle Ages* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1971).

17. '[...] to know how these people behaved when joyful or sad; how did they normally express their sentiments; what were the possible social and economic differences conditioning them.' *A Sociedade Medieval Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1964), p. 5.

18. "Nowadays (1960s) we are much less interested in descriptions of the lives of heroes and kings; not because we think them useless or uninteresting but, because we know that it is conditioned by economics and society [...] we are much more interested in the collective lives of peoples". 'Ideário para uma História Económica de Portugal na Idade Média', *Revista de Economia*, vol. XIV, III fasc. (Set. 1962), pp. 181-197; re-ed. in *Ensaios de História Medieval* (Lisbon: Portugália, 1963), pp. 21-68.

It was precisely in this phase that he produced studies on the history of currency, trade and shipping, and demography of medieval Portugal, based on new organisational frames. In the article 'A moeda Portuguesa durante a Idade Média'¹⁹ (Portuguese Currency during the Middle Ages), one of the few global studies on this matter to date. He studies the economic and financial evolution of Portuguese currency, highlighting the relation between gold and silver coinage and monetary devaluations, relating them with periods of monetary shortage and abundance in the 11th – 15th centuries. In the same year, he published an article entitled 'Navegação Prussiana para Portugal nos princípios do século XV' (Prussian Shipping to Portugal at the beginning of the 15th Century), which he presented to the *II Colloque International d'Histoire Maritime* in Paris (1958). The cross-referencing of bibliographical sources from Portuguese, Dutch, Belgian and German archives and libraries attested to his knowledge of current studies outside of Portugal.

Also in that year, in the wake of the work of M. Mollat²⁰ and M. M. Postan, he presented his doctoral thesis on Luso-Hanseatic history entitled: *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, which was first published in 1959. International trade and shipping in northern Europe was the main object of study in this work, which focussed on the economic policies of German traders in the maritime and commercial cities of the Hanseatic League and their relations with the outside world, above all Portugal.

Between 1959 and 1962 he prepared the publication of a new monograph that was the dissertation he submitted to the selection process for extraordinary professor, entitled *Introdução à História da Agricultura. A questão cerealífera na Idade Média*; in which he presented an overview of the evolution of agrarian structures in Portugal during the Middle Ages. This study influenced the main articles on ruralism written in Portugal in the late 1970's and during the 1980s²¹. The organisation of the work into independent chap-

19. The first edition was published in 1959; re-ed. in *Ensaaios de História Medieval* (Lisboa: Portugália, 1965), pp. 271-307.

20. He met M. Mollat, a lecturer at the Faculty of Arts at Lille, who invited him to stay in that city. Among other works, M. Mollat wrote *Le commerce maritime Normand à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris: Plon, 1952).

21. These include R. Durand, *Les campagnes portugaises entre Douro et Tage aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Centro Cultural Português, 1982); M. H. da Cruz Coelho, *O Baixo Mondego nos finais da Idade Média (Estudo de História Rural)* (Universidade de Coimbra, 1983). The author received scientific and methodological supervision from Oliveira Marques. I. Gonçalves, *O património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos séculos XIV e XV* (Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1984).

ters covering conditions of production, areas of production and means of commercialisation reveal a scholar alert to the interpretive lines of Marc Bloch²² (1886-1944) and B. Slicher van Bath²³ (1901-2004). The same can be said of the influence he received from Orlando Ribeiro (1911- 1997)²⁴, in sketching out the general framework for the natural and human environment of the Portuguese geographical reality.

Oliveira Marques was always concerned about combining his teaching and research activity with the training of new researchers. It is in this light that one can understand his inclination for the development of a hermeneutics of source sciences - Palaeography and Diplomatics – whether through writing articles for the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*²⁵ (1963), or publishing books of a clearly didactic nature such as *Paleografia: lições dadas pelo Doutor Oliveira Marques no ano lectivo de 1961-1962*²⁶ and *Sebenta de Paleografia (Exercise Book of Palaeography)*²⁷.

This phase closes with the publication of the *Guia de História Medieval Portuguesa* (Student's Guide to Portuguese Medieval History) (1964) – a compilation of medieval sources and specialised bibliography that is indispensable for any student or scholar of the Middle Ages. It is a work that clarifies events by providing sources, and proposes innovative research themes and lines of investigation. Its main inspiration was Louis Halphen's classic little book, *Initiation aux Etudes d'Histoire du Moyen Age* (1940).

It was also at this stage of his academic career (from 1963 onwards) that he began collaborating in collective works – Dictionaries and Encyclopaedia – including the *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, for which he wrote around 80 articles, mostly on Medieval themes, the *Dicionário Focus*, the *Dicionário de Economia*, the *Enciclopédia Meridiano –Fisher* and the *Dicionário de História de Lisboa*.

22. *Les caractères originaux de l'histoire rurale française* (Oslo-Paris: Les Belles Letres, Paris, 1931).

23. *De Agrarische Geschiedenis van West-Europa 500-1850*, 1960.

24. Graduated in Geography and History in 1932, received PhD in 1935 from Lisbon University. During the war, between 1937-1940, he lived and worked at the Sorbonne (Paris) with Marc Bloch, Emmanuel de Martonne and A. Demangeon. He was responsible for the renewal of geographical science in Portugal. His extensive list of publications includes *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico. Esboço de relações geográficas* (1945).

25. Among the many articles he wrote for this reference work can be found some of the most important articles on the documentation sciences 'Palaeography' and 'Diplomatics'. Cf. the author's bibliography.

26. Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, [1962] (duplicated edition), 96 pp.

27. Lisbon: Cooperativa Livrelco, 1963-1964 (duplicated edition), 48 pp.

For political reasons, he was forced to leave the civil service in 1964 and move to the USA. Before leaving Portugal, he published the *Ensaio de História Medieval Portuguesa* – a collection of articles he dedicated to Hermann Kellenbenz – and which are a good illustration of the Author's main areas of interest in this first phase.

At the same time, he was developing his activity of translating historiographical works of significant importance, namely the Portuguese translation of Roberto Sabatino Lopez's *Nascimento da Europa* (*Nascita dell'Europa*) (1965) and *A Vida Quotidiana dos Muçulmanos na Idade Média. (século X – século XIII)*, by Aly Mazahéri (1961), with the latter following on from his interest in unveiling the daily life history of Medieval man.

b) 1965-1974/5: From teaching in the USA to his return to teaching in Portugal

The period Oliveira Marques spent in the United States greatly favoured his career. His posts at different universities in the USA and his speaking engagements at various North American academies earned him enormous prestige. His reputation as a historian led to an invitation to write a *History of Portugal* for Columbia University Press, which was published in two volumes in 1972²⁸. The first edition of the work was celebrated with its simultaneous publication in New York and London (in English), and in Lisbon (Portuguese version).

Oliveira Marques showed himself to have profound knowledge of all Portuguese history, applying the same consistency, bibliographical support and original sources in developing a variety of themes on economic, social, political, cultural, mental and artistic matters, from Roman to contemporary times, guaranteeing both quality and balance, as was unanimously recognised by the specialists. It was one of his most widely read books in academic circles, secondary schools and by the general public²⁹. He betrayed an unconventional intellectual attitude in the independent way he structured and organised the work, dealing with difficult themes such as, with regard to the Portuguese medieval era, the question of whether there were feudal relations in medieval Portuguese society, and analysing the activity of the Christian re-conquest

28. The *History of Portugal* has been translated into French, Japanese, Chinese, Polish, Spanish, Italian and other languages.

29. More recently the Author published an abridged version entitled: *Breve História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Presença, 1995), which is still topical and widely available.

during the XI to the XIII centuries. In discussing these issues, the Author showed a rigorous and well-grounded, but also reflexive perspective.

But it was distance from his country and from the main repository of medieval sources – the Torre do Tombo National Archive – that led him to invest in studying the First Republic (1910-1926) and the period immediately preceding it. His interest in studying other historical times was not particularly aroused by that period, however professional conditions dictated the direction and increased his motivation to study other eras and other themes, the more recent history of Portugal above all. Hence, publications on the First Portuguese Republic appeared in this period³⁰. According to J. Medeiros Ferreira, “Oliveira Marques inaugurou o trabalho científico sobre a História Contemporânea Portuguesa, transitando da biografia documentada de Afonso Costa para a elaboração de autênticos manuais sobre o período republicano”³¹.

The publication of the *Antologia da Historiografia Portuguesa* (1974) confirmed something that was already known – Oliveira Marques was a scholar who dominated with the same talent and intellectual dexterity the most varied subjects in Portuguese history and the respective historiography over many years. This work in two volumes³² includes the list of major authors and a contextualised reference to the respective historiographic production. The *Antologia* reveals “uma profunda familiaridade com toda a historiografia portuguesa, de todos os tipos e de todas as épocas”³³.

Oliveira Marques returned to Portugal in 1970 and continued not only his research and teaching activities, but also engaged in other academic activities. It was at this stage that he proved to be one of the most gifted and prolific Portuguese medievalists.

30. For example: *A Primeira República Portuguesa: Alguns aspectos estruturais*. Lisbon, Livros Horizonte, 1971; *Afonso Costa* (Lisbon: Editora Arcádia, 1972) and, a little later, *Bernardino Machado*, in collaboration with F. Marques da Costa (Lisbon: Montanha, 1978).

31. “Oliveira Marques inaugurated scientific work on Contemporary Portuguese History, moving from the documented biography of Afonso Costa to the writing of authentic text books on the Republican period”. Medeiros Ferreira is a teacher of Contemporary History and the History of International Relations. For more information, consult the site: <http://www.bn.pt/agenda/oliveira-marques/textoOMo4.htm>.

32. *Das origens a Herculano* – I volume and *De Herculano aos nossos dias* – II volume.

33. “[...] deep familiarity with the whole of Portuguese historiography, of all kinds and for all eras”. L. M. Duarte, ‘História de Portugal e Historiografia na Obra de Oliveira Marques’, in *Na Jubilação universitária de A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, coord. A. L. de Carvalho Homem and M. H. da Cruz Coelho (Coimbra: Minerva, 2003), p. 171.

c) 1976-1987: *The value of a new model – Urban History*

From 1977 to 1980 he was Chair of the Committee that set up the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at Lisbon University (FCSH-UNL) and Chair of the Advisory Board for two three-year periods (1981-1983 and 1984-1986). He was also one of the main figures in the School responsible for launching the first Masters course in medieval history (1981), together with J. Mattoso, M. J. P. Ferro Tavares and I. Gonçalves³⁴.

Throughout his academic career, Oliveira Marques sought to reconcile his teaching and administration of university bodies with research activity and publication, and did so in an exemplary manner. As a researcher, he left behind him an image of a versatile scholar, showing a natural propensity for studying various themes and problems of our History at the same time³⁵.

The intellectual work of Oliveira Marques during this period developed around two distinct scientific and professional areas: urban societies and the editing and coordination of collective works. The former contributed to the formation of a School of Masters in Urban Medieval History, and the latter updated the perspectives of analysis in the *Nova História de Portugal* (New History of Portugal) and the *História da Expansão Portuguesa* (History of the Portuguese Expansion), works he coordinated with J. Serrão³⁶.

Strictly speaking, Oliveira Marques' interest in studying urban societies dated back to the mid 1960's³⁷, when, together with M. T. Campos Rodrigues, he was thinking of producing a history of Lisbon in the Middle Ages. However, he was forced to put off this project due to the political and professional reasons that led him to exile in the USA.

It was only at the beginning of the 1980's that he was able to systematically resume his interest in studying Portuguese Medieval urbanism, when he published two articles setting forth the methodological bases for the respective

34. For more information, consult the site: www.fcsh.unl.pt/cpg/m_hmed.asp.

35. With equal intellectual agility, he studied themes of Medieval History, History of the 15th and 16th century Expansion, or Contemporary History (Masonry, First Republic, Estado Novo). Cf. the Author's bibliography.

36. University lecturer, President of the Portuguese Philosophy Society (1984-1989), responsible for editing the *Dicionário de História de Portugal* (1963), one of the most up-to-date reference works at the time of its publication, for which A. H. de Oliveira Marques contributed heavily, with around 80 articles, mostly on Medieval themes.

37. 'Lisboa Medieval: uma visão de conjunto', in *Novos Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa* (Lisbon, Presença, 1988). Presented, in English, at the annual conference of the American Historical Association, New York, 1966.

study: *Introdução à História da Cidade Medieval Portuguesa* (Introduction to the History of the Portuguese Medieval City) (1981) and *Cidades Medievais Portuguesas. Algumas bases metodológicas gerais* (Medieval Portuguese cities. Some general methodological basers) (1982)³⁸. In the latter text, Oliveira Marques presents a true analytical model for urban societies, which allows for their full historical characterisation, taking inspiration from a number of «classics» such as F. L. Ganshof, Ferdinand Lot, Maurice Lombard and studies carried out by Spanish scholars including L. Torres-Baldàs, J. Maria Lacarra, L. Garcia de Valdeavellano and M. A. Ladero Quesada, among other prestigious authors in the study of the Hispanic medieval city. Finally, the city is seen as an autonomous object of study, starting from the construction of an analysis plan, which embraces the structural and conjunctural aspects of its evolution, including geographical location and implementation area, population, property (houses and lands), economy, society, administration, religion, culture, architecture, urban hygiene and health. This plan served as a general outline for the writing of over thirty theses on Portuguese medieval cities, within the scope of the seminar on *Medieval Cities* in the Masters Course in Medieval History at FCSH-UNL during the 1980's and 90's. Throughout the 1980's, there was increasing abundance of dissertations on medieval cities, with varying degrees of depth and relating to different chronological times, albeit with a tendency to favour the late Middle Ages³⁹. The partial studies entered into would be published years later (1990) as the *Atlas de Cidades Medievais Portuguesas. Séculos XII-XV*⁴⁰ (Atlas of Portuguese Medieval Cities. 12-15th centuries). At the same time, throughout these years when he was supervising dozens of theses on Portuguese medieval cities, he was sketching out the collection of *Novos Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa* (New Essays on Medieval Portuguese History) (1988), showing the prevalence of studies on local history. These studies were sent to press between 1980 and

38. Both are published in *Novos Ensaios de História Medieval Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Presença, 1988) on pp. 13-42 and 43-67, respectively.

39. Such as, for example, R. Costa Gomes, *A Guarda Medieval (1200-1500)* (Lisbon, Sá da Costa, 1987); A. Aguiar Andrade, *Um espaço urbano medieval: Ponte de Lima* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1990); M. A. Rocha Beirante, *Évora na Idade Média* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / JNICT, 1995); M. M. T. dos Santos Silva, *Estruturas Urbanas e administração concelhia. Óbidos Medieval* (Cascais: Patrimonia, 1997). A full list of theses on urban history completed between 1980 and 2002 can be seen in 'Masters Courses and Dissertations in Medieval History at Portuguese Universities', E-journal of Portuguese History, 1, Summer 2003 www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Stuies/ejph.

40. Jointly written by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, Iria Gonçalves and A. Aguiar Andrade, published by the Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

1987. They covered the municipalities and urban communities of Lisbon, Cascais and Sintra, and regional history, on the Algarve, from its definitive conquest from the Muslims (1249-1250) to the close of the Middle Ages.

Simultaneously, he engaged in various activities as coordinator of medieval archive sources, via the Centre for Historical Studies at FCHS-UNL, including the publication of books of the Chancelleries⁴¹, Cortes⁴² and royal manuscripts that he had accompanied with important indices⁴³. To crown this already extensive and important Opus, Oliveira Marques added a work of inestimable interest and service for all medievalists – that of editing medieval sources. As mentioned, at the start of his teaching career, he chaired the subject of *Palaeography and Diplomatics*, fields that are fundamental for performing the role of historian and medievalist⁴⁴. The publication of the *Álbum de Paleografia* (1987), in collaboration with J. J. Alves Dias and T. F. Rodrigues, aimed to present the “[...] critérios de transcrição paleográfica de documentos [...] para uso essencialmente de públicos universitários”⁴⁵, with no pretensions for defining ‘types’ of writing. It was written to be a pedagogical instrument for the historian in training, promoting the link between teaching and training new researchers.

At the close of this golden age of production and supervision of post-graduate medieval studies, the Oliveira Marques began his work coordinating and editing large collective works, such as the *Nova História de Portugal* (in partnership with J. Serrão), composed of 10 volumes published between 1986 and 2004, and which would be added to in the following phase. The 655 page volume IV entitled *Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV e XV* (Portugal in the crisis

41. He was responsible for editing and revising palaeographic of the Chancelleries of D. Afonso IV (1325-1357), D. Pedro I (1357-1367), D. Duarte (1433-1438). Cf. the Author's bibliography.

42. Assemblies representing social strata. He was responsible for editing and revising palaeographic of the Portuguese Cortes of D. Pedro I (1357-1367), D. Fernando I (1367-1383). Cf., *infra*, the author's bibliography.

43. In editing sources, he continued to collaborate with J. J. Alves Dias, a teacher and researcher at FCSH-UNL, from the mid 1980's until the end of 2003.

44. On the importance of the Work of Oliveira Marques as a Palaeographer and Diplomatist, c.f. M. H. da Cruz Coelho, 'A Diplomática em Portugal. Caminhos mais antigos e mais recentes', in *Estudos de Diplomática Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Colibri / Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra, 2001), pp. 26-29.

45. “[...] criteria for the palaeographical transcription of documents [...] essentially for the use of university students and staff”. S. A. Gomes, 'Paleografia e Diplomática na obra de Oliveira Marques', in *Na Jubilação universitária de A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, coord. A. L. de Carvalho Homem and M. H. da Cruz Coelho (Coimbra: Minerva, 2003), p. 49.

of the 14th and 15th centuries) (1986) was written exclusively by him. Oliveira Marques began by warning the unmindful reader that “(m)uito mais do que apresentar teses e verdades indiscutíveis, a Nova História de Portugal aspira a sugerir hipóteses, a colocar problemas, a suscitar trabalhos de investigação”⁴⁶. There is a primacy of structural analyses on the (conjunctural) causes producing consistent reflections on the multidisciplinary approach to the Middle Ages. The various themes are dealt with one after the other: demography, late medieval skills and techniques (agrarian, crafts, military, naval, intellectual and commercial), land ownership and production, the circulation and distribution of products, society, the State and diplomatic relations, war (on land and at sea), the Church and religious practice, cultural and artistic values and daily life, culminating with the conjunctural elements – the reigns. For each one, Oliveira Marques clearly and objectively combines the information and his ideas with «new» documental sources of information, which guarantees that the problems are approached in a fresh and current manner but also that the results are presented and discussed with originality.

The close of this stage is thus marked by the large work summing up the Portuguese Middle Ages, one of his most beloved centres of interest, to which he devoted special attention throughout his entire career.

d) 1988-2003/5: The editor of large collective works

Without completely ceasing to publish specialized articles, from the end of the 1980's on Oliveira Marques decided to carry out another project in the long-term - co-ordinating collective works, in collaboration with J. Serrão, his colleague and friend. Throughout this period he was responsible for editing three collections that brought together countless specialists from the most diverse areas and historiographic fields of study, covering different times and geographies.

From 1986 onwards, he jointly directed the *Nova História de Portugal*, with 10 volumes published and for which, as already stated, he wrote volume IV – ‘Portugal na crise dos séculos XIV e XV’ (1986); the *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, for which he also wrote half of volume II – ‘A Expansão Quatrocentista’ (1998) -, and half of volume XI - ‘O Império Africano,

46. “Much more than presenting theses and indisputable truths, the New History of Portugal aspires to suggest hypotheses, to pose problems, to stimulate research work”. ‘Preface’, in *Portugal na Crise dos séculos XIV e XV*, p. 1.

1890-1930' (1998); and also the *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, in 6 volumes⁴⁷.

Characteristics that were common to all these compendia and that were particularly praised by all specialists are the coherence of their contents, the balance established between the conjunctural and structural analyses on the widest variety of matters and themes (demographic, technical, artistic, cultural, social, economic or political), the reference to the major sources (bibliographical, but also documentary sources) and the modern approach to the most varied themes, guaranteed by using contributions from some of the most highly reputed specialists.

To sum up, the Oliveira Marques has left behind a great heritage and an excellent example of directing composite works on the History of Portugal written over long periods that were to become reference compendia from the moment of their publication.

At the same time, he dedicated himself to writing a work that was to complete the study he originally began with the publication of the *Dicionário da Maçonaria Portuguesa*⁴⁸, organized into two volumes and published at the end of the preceding phase; a work of primary importance for understanding the contemporary Portuguese era: the *História da Maçonaria em Portugal*⁴⁹, in 3 volumes (1990-1997). In this work Oliveira Marques explains with clarity and rigour (his native characteristics) the relations between politics and masonry in Portugal in the 19th and 20th centuries. This inclination for themes of Portuguese contemporary history would remain with him throughout his intellectual and academic life.

Hence, most recently, after his retirement in 2003, Oliveira Marques concentrated on giving a conference on *História genealógica do homem comum: micro-história ou macro-história?*⁵⁰, at the Faculty of Arts, University of Oporto, and *Rumos da Historiografia Portuguesa*⁵¹, at the Faculty of Arts, Coimbra University. At the first of these conferences, where I had the privilege of being present, Oliveira Marques set forth, with the subtlety of ideas for which he is renowned, the profitable use of biography⁵² focussing on *Memoirs*,

47. (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1988-2003).

48. *Dictionary of Portuguese Masonry*.

49. *History of the Masonry in Portugal*.

50. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras* [UP], *História*, 3rd series, IV, pp. 173-186.

51. *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, IV, pp. 257-276.

52. He also wrote biographies, principally on two politicians from the First Republic (1910-1926): Afonso Costa (1871-1937) and Bernardino Machado (1851-1944).

sharing with us the life experiences (the history) of his ancestors⁵³. Until the end of his life, Oliveira Marques cultivated the medieval taste for the difference.

Final Balance

In the intellectual life of his times, Oliveira Marques was pre-eminent in defining some of the main directions for research in Portuguese medieval history, from the 1960's to present. Our scientific knowledge of his vast opus has allowed us to outline a progress in which the focus was first on studies in economic and rural history, then moving on to medieval urban history, an area in which he was particularly notable for delineating a research plan appropriate to the study of urban centres, establishing the structural and conjunctural characteristics for the respective analysis. Along the way, connections were forged with the history of daily life, trade and shipping, and to these were added other themes of the history of Portugal from various eras (history of the First Republic and of Masonry, for example). Oliveira Marques is one of the rare Portuguese medievalists from the second half of the 20th century who, without ever truly abandoning his chosen period – the Middle Ages –, showed from an early stage a propensity to develop an encyclopaedic outlook that was rare in Portuguese historiography.

He cultivated synthesis, well-reasoned and grounded expositions, and risked new interpretations. He integrated erudition, critical skill and the broadness of Portuguese history, by publishing a great number of texts and other works that serve as tools for academic work. He was able to go beyond thematic and chronological identities, revealing profound knowledge of the history of Portugal as he took on highly distinct areas and periods with equal talent. His vast and diverse opus forms a kind of anthology of the major moments in national development of Portugal, from medieval rurality to the appearance and expansion of the urban oligarchies, from the discoveries to the fall of the monarchy, and continuing to contemporary Portuguese history.

53. From 2002 to 2005, he wrote his Memoirs in three parts: *Coisas que já lá vão! Memórias, de Henrique A. de Oliveira Marques*, Lisbon, (col. 'Gato Azul'); *Mémórias, de Jaime Artur Marques*, Lisbon, (col. «Gato Azul») and *Teatro, de Anacleto E. de Oliveira*, Lisbon, (col. 'Gato Azul').

I would like to conclude with a description of the personality of A. H. de Oliveira Marques, in the words of Hipólito de la Torre Gómez:

Oliveira Marques era urbano, lisboeta, cosmopolita, receptivo al disfrute intelectual y de los placeres sociales y vitales que menudo ofrece la existência (...) Cuando tenía que atravesar el océano en sus viajes entre Portugal y los Estados Unidos, utilizaba siempre el trasatlántico. 'Es un mundo en extinción [as he liked to say] »'. Él mismo era en cierta manera parte de ese mundo que y ase adentra en la lejanía y nos deja huérfanos en esta orilla donde tanto impera la mediocridad⁵⁴.

Chronology

- 1933. Oliveira Marques is born in Cascais, Portugal, on 6th November.
- 1956. He obtains his degree in Historical and Philosophical Sciences.
- 1957. He works as a junior researcher at the University of Würzburg under Hermann Kellenbenz. He occupies the post of Assistant at the Faculty of Arts at Lisbon University.
- 1960. He receives his doctorate from the Faculty of Arts at Lisbon. His doctoral thesis is entitled *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*.
- 1965-1969. He occupies the posts of Associate Professor and Full Professor at various U.S. universities (Auburn, Gainesville, Columbia, Minnesota and Chicago).
- 1970. He returns to Portugal where he obtains a research grant.
- 1974-1976. He holds the post of Director of the National Library of Lisbon.
- 1977. He becomes a member of the committee in-charge of setting up the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at UNL, where he created the history course.
- 1977-78. He is President of the Propadeutic Year.
- 1980. He institutes the Centre for Historical Studies at FCSH-UNL.
- 1981. He coordinates the first Masters course in Medieval History at FCSH-UNL, Chair of the Advisory Board (1981-1983 and 1983-1986).
- 1988. He is awarded the *Grã-Cruz da Ordem da Liberdade*, the Great Cross of the Order of Liberty, by the President of the Portuguese Republic.
- 1993. He joins the Department of German Studies at FCSH-UNL, where he directed *History of Culture*.
- 1997. He receives an honorary doctorate from the La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia

54. Hipólito de la Torre Gómez, 'Oliveira Marques o el mundo que se nos va', at <http://www.bn.pt/agenda/oliveira-marques/textoOM05.htm>.

2002-03. He retires.

2007. He dies in Lisbon, on 24th January.

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Virgil Vătășianu (1902 – 1993)

Ana Maria Gruia

For anyone approaching topics related to medieval art from present-day Romania, the studies of Virgil Vătășianu are fundamental. For foreigners, his books are the best known and sometimes the only available studies on the subject. His *History of Feudal Art in the Romanian Countries* (Bucharest, 1959) was the first synthesis on medieval art in Romania, presenting the first articulated theory of artistic evolution in this area. It is cited in all subsequent specialized works and it still functions as university manual in Romanian Art History Departments.¹

Virgil Vătășianu is regarded as the father of Art History as discipline and university department in Transylvania and most of today's specialists were once his students. All generations use his works as manuals and university halls bear his name. There is a yearly Virgil Vătășianu national symposium; a foundation, some awards, and prizes are named after him. His studies are republished, sometimes without change; his life and work are the topic of doctoral theses. He is regarded as a model and a legend, author of the classic works in the field and the one that has set the directions for future research.

The year 2002 marked an important moment in Romanian art historiography through the commemoration of one hundred years since Virgil Vătășianu's birth. The centenary comprised a series of events that took place in Cluj-Napoca² and Bucharest. It included an exhibition of personal items and documents, religious celebrations, book presentations (Corina Simon's doctoral dissertation on the work of Virgil Vătășianu³, the reprint of his best known work of 1959, and two collective volumes of studies in his honor⁴), and

1. *Istoria artei feudale în țările române* (History of Feudal Art in the Romanian Countries) (Bucharest: Editura Academiei, 1959; repr. Cluj-Napoca: Fundația Culturală Română, 2001).

2. Hungarian name: Kolozsvár, German: Klausenburg.

3. Corina Simon, *Artă și identitate națională în opera lui Virgil Vătășianu* (National Art and National Identity in Virgil Vătășianu's Work) (Cluj-Napoca: Herminia Napocae, 2002).

4. *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătășianu* (Romanian Art, European Art. Virgil Vătășianu Centenary), ed. by Marius Porumb and Aurel Chiriac (Oradea: Muzeul Țării Crișurilor, 2002); *Sub zodia Vătășianu. Studii de Istoria Artei* (Under the Sign of Virgil

a special edition of the Virgil Vătăşianu Symposium in Cluj, held yearly around the spring equinox since 1993.⁵

Biography

Virgil Vătăşianu, the professor as he is referred to, was born in 1902 in Sibiu⁶, to a Romanian family of the Transylvanian intelligentsia. His grandfathers were country priests, while his father was employee and eventually director of the Romanian bank 'Albina'.⁷ Virgil himself took over much of the liberal bourgeois Austrian ideals of his father: rationality, discipline, and belief in personal instruction and progress. He finished high school in his hometown. One of the most important events of his adolescence was his enthusiastic participation in 1918 at the National Assembly in Alba Iulia⁸ that proclaimed the union of Transylvania with Romania. He was part of a generation of personalities that set out to accomplish the patriotic ideals of the recently re-united Romanian provinces. Virgil Vătăşianu did this through his entire research, focusing on the definition of a national artistic style and especially on writing the art history of Transylvania that was previously restricted to Hungarian and German specialists.

At his father's insistence, Virgil Vătăşianu obtained a degree in Law (following courses at the Universities of Iaşi and Bucharest), but his interest always focused on studies in art history, which he pursued at the same time. In 1920 he was admitted at the German University of Prague, but he was not satisfied with the art history professors there. In 1921 he transferred to Vienna, where he became acquainted with and further developed the ideas and methodology of the Art History School of Max Dvořák and Josef Strzygowski. At the beginning of 1922 he pursued studies at the Art History Department in Cluj-Napoca and worked with Prof. Coriolan Petranu. In 1927, only twenty-five years old, he received his doctoral degree at the University of Vienna with

Vătăşianu. Art History Studies), ed. by Marius Porumb and Aurel Chiriac (Cluj-Napoca: Nereamia Napocae, 2002).

5. Marius Porumb, 'Centenar Academician Virgil Vătăşianu' (Centenary of Academician Virgil Vătăşianu), *Academica*, 1 (2002), 22-23; Marius Porumb, 'Sub zodia Vătăşianu' (Under the Sign of Virgil Vătăşianu), in *Sub zodia Vătăşianu*, 7-10.

6. Hermannstadt/ Nagyszeben.

7. Mihai Dreciu, 'Date inedite despre familia academicianului Virgil Vătăşianu' (Unpublished Data about the Family of the Academy Member Virgil Vătăşianu), in *Sub Zodia Vătăşianu*, 21-24.

8. Gyulafehérvár/ Weißenburg.

a dissertation on the *Ancient Romanian Stone Churches from Hunedoara County*, under the supervision of Prof. Strzygowski. It was published in 1930 as his first book.⁹

At the time he was working on his dissertation, Virgil Vătășianu was employed by the University Library in Cluj, where he occupied different positions.¹⁰ Then he was appointed secretary of the Romanian School in Rome (with interruptions between 1931 and 1946), where he organized the rich library and presented Romanian medieval art through several conferences and exhibitions. During his stay in Italy he also conducted important research on the Renaissance, published later in his own country.¹¹ In 1945 he returned to Romania in order to complete his great project on feudal art, ignoring the advice of several friends and supporters who pointed out the hardships imposed by the Communist regime. In the same year he applied for a position in Cluj, where he eventually replaced his professor Coriolan Petranu as head of the Art History Department of the University between 1948 and 1972. Virgil Vătășianu was also the leader of the art history department of the Cluj Branch of Romanian Academy and was actively involved in the re-organization of the National Commission for the Protection of Historical Monuments.¹²

Virgil Vătășianu was a true Renaissance-type of *homo universalis*, leaving behind a work that is impressive in terms of both quality and quantity. His dedication to medieval art was backed by his talent in languages. He was familiar with Latin and Greek and spoke German, English, French, Russian, Hungarian, and Italian. This was very useful especially in working with published studies on medieval art, which, at least in Transylvania, are written in three languages: Romanian, Hungarian, and German. Virgil Vătășianu's knowledge of Russian proved to be an advantage during the Communist regime, and his knowledge of other languages allowed him to travel and give

9. Stelian Mândruț, 'Virgil Vătășianu, excurs biografic (I). Anii studenției' (Virgil Vătășianu, Biographical Essay (I). His Student Years), *Ars Transilvaniae*, 10-11 (2000-2001), 213-249.

10. Stelian Mândruț, 'Virgil Vătășianu și biblioteca Universității din Cluj' (Virgil Vătășianu and the University Library from Cluj), *Ars Transilvaniae*, 2/12-13 (2002-2003), 273-305.

11. *Istoria artei europene. II. Artă în perioada Renașterii* (The History of European Art. Vol. II. Art in the Renaissance) (Bucharest: Editura Meridiane, 1972; repr. Cluj-Napoca: Clusium, 2000).

12. Dan Fornade, *Personalități clujene (1800-2007). Dicționar ilustrat* (Personalities from Cluj-Napoca between 1800 and 2007. An Illustrated Dictionary) (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 2007), s.v. Virgil Vătășianu.

lectures on medieval art in Italy, United Kingdom, Austria, USA, Uruguay, Hungary, and Russia. Such conferences were possible after Romania had signed a series of cultural agreements in the 1960s.

Vătășianu achieved national and international recognition even during his lifetime and the series of awards he received attests to this. The University of Vienna selected him as winner of the Johann Gottfried von Herder Award in 1972. During these years, despite occasional criticism from envious colleagues or strict Marxists, Vătășianu also enjoyed official recognition in his home country. He was awarded the Romanian State Award and the Order for Cultural Merit, was appointed *emeritus professor* in 1964, and correspondent and in 1974 member of the Romanian Academy.

His method shared some common points with the Marxist materialism imposed on scientists in Romania during the Communist regime (in terms of their emphasis on historical determination of artistic styles for example) and this was an advantage in publishing his works and receiving state recognition. However, he was against the cultural policy of the state, for example on the issue of monument conservation and demolition, and wrote several articles on the topic, which were never published. Vătășianu also encountered problems that threatened to hamper his activities, such as traveling abroad for academic events, developing his career as librarian, or securing employment at the Department of Art History in Bucharest in 1929, when George Oprescu was preferred despite his insufficient qualifications. In fact, the animosity between Vătășianu and Oprescu continued throughout their lives.

Cluj School of Art History

At present, there are only three centers that offer art history at university level in Romania: Iași, Bucharest and Cluj. Virgil Vătășianu's name is linked to the latter, being considered the founder of the so-called 'Cluj School of Art History'.¹³ In 1919 the Romanian University in Cluj opened its gates. Since 1920 it also included an Art History Department led by Prof. Coriolan Petranu. After his death in 1945 Virgil Vătășianu became his successor. In 1949 the University was reorganized and the Art History Department was dissolved for a while. Virgil Vătășianu was transferred to other departments for a few years and then dismissed without explanations in 1952, only to be taken back three years later. The reason seems to have been the authorities' dislike

13. Răzvan Theodorescu, 'Modelul Vătășianu' (Vătășianu as a Model), in *Sub zodia Vătășianu*, 11-12.

of the important role he attributed to religious art. Throughout this period, even if employed at the University or at the Academic Institute of History under the protection of Constantin Daicoviciu, Vătășianu acted towards the establishment of art history as a scientific discipline, with a rigorous methodology and provable results. Between 1958 and 1972, when he acted as chief of the Art History Department, Vătășianu was actively involved in the formation of generations of students, publishing university manuals, and supervising new lines of research.¹⁴

The methodology promoted by the Department in Cluj was largely influenced by the Vienna School. Coriolan Petranu had also studied with Josef Strzygowski, so through his and Virgil Vătășianu's filter, the same rigorous methods were employed in order to classify, describe, analyze, and explain the "red line of morphological evolution", linking monuments in a coherent scheme. Although Prof. Petranu was also working on a large synthesis that would serve as a university manual¹⁵, he left it unfinished by the time he died, in 1945. The main books were published later on by Virgil Vătășianu: *The History of Feudal Art in the Romanian Countries* (1959, reprinted 2001), *The History of European Art* in two volumes (the first published in 1967 and the second in 1972 and again in 2000), and *Considerations on Art History Methodology* (1974, repr. 1996 and 2004).

The last generation of students whom Vătășianu taught graduated in 1974, two years after his retreat. For a while, the University of Bucharest remained the only center for art history, until 1990 when the department in Cluj was re-established. Several of Virgil Vătășianu's former students took up the task, following and expanding the methods and the directions opened by their professor. Prof. Nicolae Sabău, a specialist of Baroque art in Transylvania, has been since 1990 head of the department, while Prof. Marius Porumb, a specialist in Romanian painting in Transylvania is the leader of the Institute of Archaeology and Art History of the Romanian Academy in Cluj and the director of the Virgil Vătășianu Foundation established in 1997.

14. Ioan Opriș, 'Virgil Vătășianu Vizionarul' (Virgil Vătășianu, the Visionary), in *Sub zodăia Vătășianu*, 13-15, also *Academica* 1 (2002), 27-28.

15. Vlad Țoca, 'Câteva considerații pe marginea unor adnotări ale lui Coriolan Petranu' (Some Considerations on a Series of Annotations Made by Coriolan Petranu), *Ars Transilvaniae*, 12-13 (2002-2003), 315-326; Aurel Chiriac, 'Manualul de istoria artelor de la epoca veche creștină până azi de Coriolan Petranu, o contribuție la istoriografia de artă' (The Manual 'History of Art from the Ancient Christian Era until Today' by Coriolan Petranu, a Contribution to Art Historiography), *Ars Transilvaniae*, 12-13 (2002-2003), 307-313.

After his death in 1993 at the venerable age of 91, his former students acted for the preservation of Virgil Vătășianu's memory and the commemoration of his life long activity. The Art History Department continued its activity along the lines set by its founder but also expanding the research to other artistic styles and topics.

The Art History Department in Cluj is integrated in the History and Philosophy Faculty of the Babeș-Bolyai University. Special emphasis is therefore placed on the study of history besides the specialized art courses. This is very much in line with Virgil Vătășianu's belief that art is and always was embedded in and conditioned by the historical, social, economic, and cultural contexts. The department benefits from the photographic collection gathered by Virgil Vătășianu during his extensive field research and from his impressive library donated by Mrs. Lucia Vătășianu, the professor's wife and honorary president of the Virgil Vătășianu Foundation. I remember seeing as a student in the end of the 1990s the old photographs taken by the Professor, photographs on glass projected with an old Russian epidiascope. Some of the images have deteriorated, the colors have faded, and the glass cracked. They are in need of conservation since they are valuable sources for the state of some monuments before restoration works or before irreversible decaying processes.

Methodology

When Virgil Vătășianu started his career, he faced serious impediments: the lack of both general studies and monographs dedicated to specific monuments, the scarcity of archaeological excavations, and the absence of consistent terminology to designate concepts in Romanian art history. The Communist regime's pressure and control on scientific activity also added to these later on. In such conditions, Virgil Vătășianu had to perform extensive field research documenting the monuments and the art objects from museum collection, translating and adapting terminology, and developing a methodology, which he learned from his supervisors and filtered by his own experience in research on art history and archaeology, and his previous studies of law.

His method owes much to the material determinism of the Viennese School, based on the assumption that artistic phenomena are determined by historical and social conditions, and by the available building materials. Another similarity lay in the belief in identifiable artistic developments, be they original creations, influences, or synthesis best visible in the study of morphological trends. The analysis of architectural ground plan typologies is

preferred; in Virgil Vătășianu's case such an analysis is especially suitable for research on religious buildings, since churches are in general the best preserved medieval monuments. Although used for national ends, his method and style are as objective as possible, politically neutral, based on logical demonstrations, and written in an elegant scientific language (only in the beginning seasoned with lyrical descriptions).

As reflected in his publications and explained in his *Methodological Considerations*, Virgil Vătășianu's method implies three necessary steps: documentation, analysis, and synthesis. One may note here his departure from Strzygowski's four analytical stages.¹⁶ A thorough documentation should lie at the foundation of any art historical research. It implies the gathering and presentation of the monument (or object) with its name, location, characteristics, corroborated with other available information such as written or indirect sources. In case of conflicting data between written evidence and stylistic characteristics, it is always the monument itself that prevails, since, in Virgil Vătășianu's words, 'the monuments should be allowed to speak for themselves'. The first stage therefore implies a short monograph of the respective monument and some provisional conclusions.

The second necessary step is analysis. It consists in the research on the iconographic theme or on the shape, building material, and technique of the respective monument. This is followed by an investigation of the contents, of the message transmitted by the object, which is conceived as a vessel of a form of symbolic communication.

The third and final step of the method is the synthesis. It is an inductive process, based on the preliminary findings and leading to the formulation of conclusions placing the monument in the evolutionary scheme and discerning on the original aspects, influences, or osmoses it reflects.

Main topics

Virgil Vătășianu's work is important especially because of his fundamental contribution to defining and analyzing a Romanian national artistic style. He adopted the Herderian paradigm of the *Volksgeist* that also manifested itself through art. Such styles were in Vătășianu's conception created naturally and not through planned interventions, reason for which he criticized the avant-

16. Aurel Chiriac, 'Virgil Vătășianu, promotorul metodei în cercetarea istoriei artei românești' (Virgil Vătășianu, the Promoter of the Research Method in the Study of Romanian Art History), in *Sub zodia Vătășianu*, 17-20.

gardes and distanced art history as a discipline from art criticism. He perceived artistic evolution as a phenomenon that obeys two rules: that of tradition and that of history. It implied a logical, positivist understanding of evolution from simple to complex, which allowed the researcher to identify stages, developments, and interactions between the different artistic styles. Virgil Vătășianu believed that a thorough research could bring to light the 'red thread' of artistic evolution, and that the lack of preserved monuments or connecting points in such an evolution could be compensated by inductions based on the general underlying principles of both tradition and history.

Most of his works focus on the Romanian style in the medieval period, but he was also interested in the modern painters from the beginning of the twentieth century, especially in Octavian Smigelschi about whom he wrote two books and several articles.

Vătășianu focused on several moments that he considered fundamental in the creation of the Romanian national style: the first Romanian stone churches from southern Transylvania (taking over from the traditional wooden architecture), the Moldavian style of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the Brâncoveanu style in Walachia from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The art historian was the first to do a comparative analysis of the evolution from the three Romanian provinces, finding common points, influences, but also delays and differences between them. He never neglected the fruitful contribution of influences from Western Europe, the neighboring states, or from the Balkans but he pointed out the original character of the Romanian creations. And since art was conceived as determined by history and by the people who created it, he also formulated ethno-genetic theories concerning the Romanians, from the Roman retreat from Dacia until the Hungarian conquest and organization of Transylvania.

As sub-themes of this greater theme, Virgil Vătășianu argued in favor of some new and until then debated topics and chronologies. He studied the Romanesque style in Eastern Europe, especially in Hungary and Transylvania, arguing for dating the Romanesque buildings in the area after the Mongol invasion of 1241, and not before it, as previously maintained. Several of Vătășianu's works support the thesis of a borrowing of shapes and decorations from wooden architecture to the first stone buildings. This implies that the Romanians had developed a traditional style even before the first preserved stone monuments. Such transfers, determined by a long tradition of building in wood include: the preference for rectangular ground plans (visible in both Transylvanian and Moldavian medieval Romanian churches), specific build-

ing solutions (such as the exterior aspect of apses or the vaulting systems), and decorations such as the zigzags. Another of Vătășianu's debated and daring hypothesis relates to the origin of the three-lobed church ground plan popular in Oltenia, but also in Serbia and Moravia. The type, previously considered as a Serbian influence in Walahia, is now called in a neutral fashion "Vodița II", after the first preserved example dated in the end of the fourteenth century. The Romanian art historian argued that the creation of three-lobed churches with four pillars erected at the meeting of the lateral apses with the nave was based on Greek and Bulgarian borrowings, but as a whole, it was an original creation of the builders from Oltenia. The most ancient examples of this specific ground plan is found there. The style subsequently spread to Serbia, Moldavia, and even Transylvania.

Main works

During his long career, Virgil Vătășianu wrote fifteen books on art history, over seventy articles, almost thirty book reviews, several forewords, fourteen polemical and popular articles in newspapers and cultural magazines, interviews, and a series of manuscript works. He was also the author of a series of entries on medieval art in national and international encyclopedias.¹⁷ Several of his studies and books were printed in foreign languages (Italian, German, French, and English) during his lifetime, contributing to his own fame and to the popularization of medieval art from Romania, which became thus available to the foreign public and specialists.

His first book entitled *Ancient Romanian Stone Churches from Hunedoara County* was published in 1930 in Cluj. It was based on his doctoral dissertation defended at the University of Vienna three years earlier. The book introduced the Romanian public to his innovative theory on what he considered a fundamental phenomenon in the development of the national style, namely the first stone churches built by the Romanian population, located in the Hunedoara County in southern Transylvania. He explained the characteristics of this group of monuments, dated from the 13th to the 16th centuries, as derived from the traditional Romanian wooden architecture.¹⁸ The book respects the four steps of Strzygowski's method, which Vătășianu will later on

17. See full bibliography in Simon, pp. 201-215.

18. Ioan Aurel Pop, 'Ctitoriile românești transilvănene în opera lui Virgil Vătășianu' (Romanian Churches from Transylvania in Virgil Vătășianu's Work), *Academica*, 1 (2002), 24-26.

adapt and restrict to only three steps. It also contains some romantic passages and proofs of emotional involvement that will later on disappear from his style, replaced by thorough neutrality, objectivity, and a technical terminology.¹⁹

The best known and most important historiographical contribution of the professor from Cluj is his 1959 synthesis entitled *History of Feudal Art in the Romanian Countries*. It was not only the first presentation of the evolution of medieval art in Romania, but also an impressively extensive display of erudition. The over 1000-pages long work analyzes the evolution of architecture, sculpture, painting, and minor arts (embroidery, metalwork, manuscript illumination, furniture, ceramics, etc.) from the area of present-day Romania, offering analogies from the neighboring regions but also from Western Europe, especially the German areas, and the Balkans. To some extent, the book is the first scientific and argued reply to some controversial writings from Hungarian historiography. It presented a new theory of Romanian ethnogenesis. It also suggested a new chronology for several monuments and argued for the existence of a Romanian style especially in Transylvania. It was based on Vătășianu's extensive personal field work and on the existing literature published in Romanian but also in Hungarian, German and other foreign languages, which he mastered. He used sources critically and often contradicted their conclusions or qualified them. The synthesis contains all of Vătășianu's major topics and theories. It perfectly illustrates his methodology and an objective, mature style of research and presentation. The book benefits from thorough footnotes, indices, bibliography, and list of illustration. It also supplies the absence of an art history dictionary by providing explanations or the German or French equivalents for the technical terms used. The book was conceived as the first volume of a larger study on Romanian art that the professor unfortunately did not have the chance to complete.

Vătășianu's book triggered an immediate reaction both in Romania and abroad. It received excellent reviews, including one signed by Steven Runciman in *Speculum*,²⁰ and it established Virgil Vătășianu's position as an internationally respected medievalist. The only criticism came from the part of Marxist researchers, for not insisting enough on the principles of Marxist materialism and for placing too much emphasis on religious architecture and artifacts. The book does in some sense reflect a materialist thought, but of Viennese origin,

19. Simon, p. 39, pp. 44-45.

20. Steven Runciman, 'Book review of *Istoria artei feudale în țările române* by Virgil Vătășianu', *Speculum*, vol. 36, 2 (1961), 359-360.

and it does try to comply with Communist indications by using terms such as feudalism, class conflict, suprastructure, oppression, eliminating the capital letter from the spelling of “Saint”, etc.

It was also, understandably, among Virgil Vătășianu's works selected for reprinting. In 2001 it appeared in its original 1959 form plus some latter additions. Although an updating would have requested the enormous effort of including the specialized bibliography of the last fifty years that would have doubled the size of the book and would have fragmented its argumentation²¹, there are several drawbacks to such an enterprise. The reprint preserves the poor quality illustrations, the Marxist terminology (qualifying for example feudal castles as “nests of oppressive politics”, p. 17), a series of illogical or outdated terms (“cylindrical vault”, p. 77, p. 35, p. 262, etc; the confusion between battlement and merlon, e.g. in the phrase “the defenders were hiding behind the battlements”, p. 264), and outdated place names among which the most striking is the use of “Stalin City” instead of Brașov.²²

Vătășianu wrote other books based on course material and intended as manuals for both students and the interested public. The most eloquent example is the *History of European Art*, the first of its kind available in Romanian, which paid special attention to South-Eastern Europe and Russia, in order to create the general context for the understanding of local art. The first volume of the *History of European Art* focused on the Middle Ages and was published in 1967. The second, dedicated to the Renaissance, appeared in 1972 and was reprinted in 2000. As manuals, they lack extensive bibliographies (containing as few articles as possible) and do not enter into details or controversial issues, but they do reflect the same clear and synthetic style that characterized Virgil Vătășianu.

In 1966 he published a book entitled *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Medieval Pannonia*. It was the natural result of his previous research on the Romanian churches of Transylvania, since he had corrected their dating to the thirteenth century in correlation to similar buildings and sculptures in the Kingdom of Hungary. In fact, the book had been ready for printing even before the *History of Feudal Art*, but its publication had been delayed for political reasons and it appeared only after the use of ‘Pannonia’ instead of ‘Hungary’ in the title, so as to prevent any suspicion that it would interfere with another country's national historiography. It was one of Virgil

21. Marius Porumb, ‘Cuvânt înainte’ (Foreword), in Vătășianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, 2001.

22. Kronstadt/ Brassó.

Vătășianu's most reviewed books abroad, and its conclusions raised international interest especially after the conferences on the topic that the art historian held in Austria, at Vienna and Gratz.²³

He writes his study according to his already established methodology, and he offers a wider context for his arguments related to Transylvania and supports them further. He follows the typological evolution of ground plans used for the erection of religious edifices; he discusses the role of mason masters and building sites in the spread of stylistic characteristics, and the different influences contributing to the specific architecture in question: traditional wooden architecture, Byzantine, Slavic, and Western European. The Romanesque style in Pannonia comprises three distinct phases: 1) the eleventh century when very few stone churches were built; 2) the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, especially after 1241, when Western influences were assimilated and the main channel by which the architectural style spread were the large royal buildings; 3) after 1255, when Romanesque buildings and elements persisted along with the new Gothic ones.

In 1974 Virgil Vătășianu published *Pictura murală din nordul Moldovei* (Wall Paintings from Northern Moldavia), a concise but consistent and well illustrated presentation of one of the landmarks of Romanian medieval art: the interior and exterior church frescoes from Moldavia. The book had English, French, and German editions, in response to the international interest in that group of monuments dated from the 15th to the 16th centuries. Although his main concern was architecture, in this book Virgil Vătășianu analyzes the paintings of one of the key moments in the development of the national style, that of Moldavian art around the times of Stephen the Great. The author discusses the various discernible influences reaching Moldavia from the East, from the painting schools in Crete, Macedonia, or Walachia, and the Western influences received from Poland, but he presents the material as a series of original paintings related to each other and unique first of all through their chromatic.

Vătășianu's *Methodological Considerations* printed in 1974 (and again in 1996 and 2004), although intended primarily for the use of students, had a more extensive purpose as well. The book was meant to establish art history as a scientific discipline in Romania, independent of literary, philosophical and aesthetic interferences. Art history was also seen as distinct from art criticism, which should limit its object to contemporary creations. Unlike art history, art criticism is based on sensitivity and intuition; it does not need to

23. Simon, pp.115-116.

fulfill the strict criteria of objectivity or demonstrability but only requires the researcher's sincerity. After such preliminary considerations, the book turns to the presentation of the relevant art historiography from Antiquity to the twentieth century. The most substantial part deals with the detailed explanation of the steps and principles of Vătășianu's personal method.

Considering the success of the reprinting of his work in 1996, 2000, 2001, and 2004, one may note the actuality of Vătășianu's works and ideas. Despite the fact that the second half of the century has witnessed significant developments in archeology, art history, and terminology to articulate concepts in these fields, in Romania, Virgil Vătășianu's method and hypothesis still stand. A new major work would need to complete, and certainly refine the work of the 'father of Romanian art history', but historiography is still waiting for a similarly gifted and synthesizing mind to put all data together in a comprehensive presentation of Romanian art history.

Conclusions

Virgil Vătășianu's work and personality has certainly marked Romanian art history. His studies have filled a significant gap in Romanian art historiography. His research has been used as a solid foundation for subsequent efforts in the field. But as he himself defined his book of 1959 as a 'preliminary synthesis' due to the lack of thorough monographs and research, new works should update and when needed even correct his contributions.

As for his style of writing, I can only say that although I am just a student of his students, it was not at all difficult to write this article as I imagine Virgil Vătășianu would have done it. I tried to use the same methodology (documentation, analysis, and synthesis), the same blend of specialized terminology and personal twist, the same personal involvement and attention to rigor complemented by a sense of duty, with an emphasis on things yet to be done.

Chronology

- 1902. Virgil Vătășianu is born in Sibiu
- 1918. He takes part in the National Assembly in Alba-Iulia.
- 1920. He studies Law (Iași, then Bucharest) and Art History (Cluj, Prague, Vienna).
- 1924. He obtains his law degree but does not work in the field.
- 1925. He finishes his studies in Art History in Vienna and enrolls in the PhD program. He becomes librarian at the University Library in Cluj-Napoca.
- 1927. He receives his PhD at the University of Vienna.
- 1930. His first book is published.
- 1931-1946. He is secretary of the Romanian School in Rome.
- 1948-1952. He works at the University of Cluj-Napoca (in various departments).
- 1958. He returns to the University of Cluj-Napoca and holds the same post he had at his resignation in 1952.
- 1952. He takes part in various archaeological campaigns in his capacity as staff member of the Cluj-Napoca Branch of the Romanian Academy.
- 1972. He receives the Herder Award.
- 1974. He is correspondent member of the Romanian Academy.
- 1993. He dies in Cluj-Napoca.

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Andrzej Wędzki (1927)

Ryszard Grzesik

The commemoration of the birth anniversary of researchers provides an opportunity to reflect on the fruits of their work.¹ This reflection allows us to define the characteristic features of their research, compare them with the work of other researchers, and to identify the space that they occupy within the entire discipline. This consideration is a way in which the sciences and the humanities develop and mature in the awareness of its present state, its past and its future. In particular, the 80th birth anniversary of Prof. Dr Hab. Andrzej Wędzki is an occasion to revisit his works and present them for a wide circle of the researchers because his broad and rich interests have significance in numerous fields of investigation.

Youth in the shadow of the war

Prof. Andrzej Wędzki was born on the 14th of November 1927 in Leszno, Poland, a town with a rich history, where the dissidents from Bohemia, like the famous J. A. Komenský, Netherland, Scotland (with J. Johnston), and Germany lived peacefully during the religious wars in Pre-Modern Europe. His parents were teachers at the Secondary School of Trade (Liceum Kupieckie), and his father was even the headmaster of this school. Andrzej Wędzki spent his childhood in an ambience that was steeped in history. There were Baroque churches for several Christian confessions; on the streets, one could hear Polish and German spoken. This atmosphere may have helped foster his interest in history. Unfortunately, the happy childhood was broken in 1939 by the aggression of Nazi Germany against Poland. Mrs. Władysława Wędzka escaped from Leszno, which lied exactly on the Polish-German border at that time, with two children: Andrzej and his sister, Irena. Andrzej Wędzki remembered the bomb attack, which he observed in Słupca (eastern of Poznań). After almost 60 years, he wrote a critique of a book on Słupca's history, particularly reacting to its description of the defensive war of Poland against the Germans in 1939:

1. Language consultation of this article by Michał Sokołowski and Jacek Żywiczka.

It would be more interesting to present in more details the problem of refugees and driven herds of cattle, evacuated from the border region and the chaos created, all this very difficult to describe, it made the movement of an army almost impossible, using the testimony of witnesses. It would better reflect the atmosphere of those tragic days (the author of these words knows it from own experience exactly from Słupca)².

These words show features of good historians: a facility for observing reality and the use of their own experiences to reconstruct the past³.

The Wędzkis found refuge, first in Cracow and then in Miechów. Here A. Wędzki attended a clandestine secondary school, because the Nazis prohibited the Polish youth from attending school. He took the final examination in the time of chaos, when the Germans escaped from the attack of the Red Army. During his walks in the region of Miechów, he observed that the villages in Lesser Poland, as the area is called, differed from those in his native Great Poland. They had a different spatial shape, which was the result of the spatial reform of 1864 in the Russian part of Poland, to which Miechów belonged in the 19th century. There was also a different architecture. These observations signalled a deepening interest in history.

Studies

It could be a paradox that Andrzej Wędzki, after returning to Great Poland, chose to study economics at the Faculty of Law and Economics of the University of Poznań (UP, now Adam-Mickiewicz University, UAM), and instead of studies at the Faculty of Philosophy and History. However, the Faculty of Law and Economics was also a strong historical centre, where such eminent historians, as Michał Sczaniecki, Marian Zygmunt Jedlicki, Zygmunt Wojciechowski or Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk, worked. They concentrated on the history of law and economics, using a methodology in common with other Poznań's historians. This methodology concentrated on source criticism, which is characterized by a detailed study of sources. Only a close reading of sources allows for an interpretation of the reality in question. The methodology is also relevant to cultural studies, because this field of study finds both

2. A. Wędzki, critical note from: *Dzieje Słupcy* [History of Słupca], ed. Bolesław Szczepański (Poznań: Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna, 1996) (Dzieje miast Wielkopolski, vol. 5), published in *Rocznik Koniński*, 12 (1998), 174-77 (p. 176).

3. The eminent medievalists were opened for the observation and explanation of the present processes; cf. the memoirs of Kazimierz Tymieniecki, *Wspomnienia z jesieni 1939 roku* [Memoirs from the Autumn 1939] (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Ossolineum, 1972).

its source and material in the testimony of the past. The Latin maxim: *sum, ergo fui*, illustrates the character of a source as a material and intellectual object - testimony of its times⁴

Zygmunt Wojciechowski⁵ and Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk⁶ were greatly influential in shaping Andrzej Wędzki's personality as a researcher. He wrote a work about the principal retinue in the Slavic countries for Prof. Wojciechowski's seminar in 1951. This work was of such high standards that Prof. Wojciechowski accepted it as a thesis for Master of Arts. But the recent graduate, already in possession of a Master of Arts in the Legal Sciences, wrote two more works: 1) regarding the Polish commercial fleet in the period between the two World Wars and 2) about the demography of the city of Poznań in the years 1945-1949. Both were the basis for his second M.A. title, this time in economics⁷.

After finishing his studies, Andrzej Wędzki continued his contact with the University. Unfortunately, he could not work there for political reasons. He remained involved in university by attending lectures at the Faculty of Philosophy and History, as an informal student. He listened to the lectures of Prof. Józef Kostrzewski, archaeologist, the founder of the Poznań school of archaeology,⁸ and he attended the seminars of Prof. Kazimierz Tymieniecki⁹

4. Symptomatic for this meaning of a historical source is a study of Gerard Labuda, 'Próba nowej systematyki i nowej interpretacji źródeł historycznych [Trial of the New Systematic and New Interpretation of the Historical Sources]', *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 1 (1957), 3-52 and, in other words, in studies of the probably most eminent representatives of the Poznań methodological school, Jerzy Topolski, cf. his *Metodologia historii* [Methodology of History], 3. ed. (Warszawa: PWN, 1984), p. 324. Cf. also Brygida Kürbis, 'Metody źródłoznawcze wczoraj i dziś' [Source-Critical Methods Yesterday and Today], *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 24 (1979), 93-96, reprint in eadem, *Na progach historii. Prace wybrane* [On thresholds of History. Chosen Works] (Poznań: ABOS, 1994), 259-276 with author's commentary.

5. Cf. recent biographical study by Markus Krzoska, *Für ein Polen an Oder und Ostsee. Zygmunt Wojciechowski (1900-1955) als Historiker und Publizist* (Osnabrück: Fibre, 2003) (Einzelveröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau, 8).

6. Henryk Olszewski, *Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk 1911-1980* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2003).

7. Based on the talks with Prof. Andrzej Wędzki.

8. Jan Filip, *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte Europas*, vol. 1 (Prag: Academia, 1966), p. 631.

9. *Kazimierz Tymieniecki (1887-1968). Dorobek i miejsce w mediewistyce polskiej* [Scientific Output and Place in Polish Medieval Studies], ed. by Jerzy Strzelczyk (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1990).

and Henryk Łowmiański¹⁰. He also took part in palaeography classes given by Dr. (and afterwards Prof.) Brygida Kürbisówna¹¹, who prepared her future edition of the Great-Polish Chronicle at that time¹². They read the manuscripts of the Chronicle. All these researchers are considered as founders and followers of the Poznań historical school. Instead of paying attention to source-criticism, what we mentioned above, the Poznań historical school had one more feature. It concentrated on Polish-German relationship and defence of the role of Poles and Slavs in history. For historical reasons this school found its centre in Poznań and was very active after the terrible Nazi German occupation¹³.

Slavic interests and organizational facilities. Słownik starożytności słowiańskich

It is nothing strange that the earlier experience and the intellectual atmosphere defined the future activity of Andrzej Wędzki. In February 1953, he found work in the Editorial Committee of the *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* [Lexicon of Slavic Antiquities, henceforth: SSS], which was organized by Prof. Zygmunt Wojciechowski as a branch of Instytut Zachodni [The Western Institute], founded by him in 1945. Since 1955 it has been a part of the Institute for Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences [Instytut Slawistyki Polskiej Akademii Nauk] (now it is Department of History =

10. *Profesor Henryk Łowmiański. Życie i dzieło* [His Life and Work]. *Materiały z sesji naukowej poświęconej dziesiątej rocznicy śmierci Uczzonego (Poznań 7-8 X 1994 r.)* [Materials from the Research Session Devoted to the Tenth Death Anniversary of an Eminent Researcher], ed. by Artur Kijas and Krzysztof Pietkiewicz (Poznań, IH UAM, VIS Wydawnictwo, 1995).

11. Gerard Labuda, '„Księga Uczonych” dla Uczzonej w księgach' [A 'Book of the Eminent Researchers' to the Eminent Researcher in Books], in *Mente et litteris. O kulturze i społeczeństwie wieków średnich* [About the Medieval Culture and Society] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1984), 7-20 with a Bibliography made by Danuta Zydorek, p. 21-42; Jacek Wiesiołowski, 'Scriptura custos memoriae', in: *Scriptura custos memoriae. Prace historyczne* [Historical Studies], ed. Danuta Zydorek (Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2001), p. XXIX-XXXIV with a Bibliography made by Danuta Zydorek, ibidem, p. V-XXVIII.

12. *Kronika wielkopolska. Chronica Poloniae Maioris*, ed. by Brygida Kürbis, Monumenta Poloniae Historica, series nova, vol. 8 (Warszawa: PWN, 1970).

13. Compare my remarks in: 'Polska Kronika Filmowa, nr 17, 1966, tekst: Karol Małcużyński. Polish Film Chronicle, No 17, 1966 (April), text: Karol Małcużyński', ed. by Ryszard Grzesik, in *Gebrauch und Missgebrauch des Mittelalters, 19.-21. Jh. / Uses and Abuses of the Middle Ages, 19th-21st Century / Usages et Mésusages du Moyen Age du XIXe au XXe siècle*, ed. by Nicola Karthaus, Paderborn, in print.

Zakład Historii of this Institute). Andrzej Wędzki spent his whole career at the Institute, where he obtained all his professional achievements. He began working as an assistant and finally occupied post of Head of the Editorial Committee and the Department (1984-2006). He is still active as Professor emeritus.

The work in the Editorial Committee of the SSS creates very important branch of Prof. Wędzki's research activity, which could be defined as Slavic-Lexicographic. Majority of his writings are articles written to several lexicons. The idea of the SSS arose in 1927 during the First Conference of the Historical Societies of the Slavic and Eastern European Countries, held in Warsaw. Responsible for its conceptualization was Franciszek Bujak, a professor at the University in Lwów [today Lviv, Ukraine]¹⁴. Its purpose was to present the history and culture of the ancient Slavs in interdisciplinary and international terms. It was intended for publication in five or six volumes and its conception was presented in a trial volume, edited in 1934¹⁵. The Journal 'Archiwum Starożytności Słowiańskich' was also planned, but was never edited. What is more interesting, independent of those plans, but in concordance with the 'spirit' of the times, the edition of a similar journal was being prepared in Poznań by Prof. Józef Kostrzewski. The first number of a periodical 'Slavia Antiqua' was accepted for publishing in late 1939. Because of a Nazi German aggression, the periodical was revived only in 1948 as a Festschrift for Prof. Kostrzewski¹⁶. Unfortunately, the whole material collected for the SSS was

14. Franciszek Bujak, 'Esquisse-programme provisoire du Dictionnaire des Antiquités Slaves', in *Conférence des historiens des états de l'Europe Orientale et du monde Slave, Varsovie, le 27-29 juin 1927*, part 1 *Travaux de préparation, résumés des communications* (Varsovie: W. Łazarski, 1927), without pagination.

15. *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich, zeszyt próbny. Dictionnaire des antiquités Slaves. Fascicule d'épreuve*, (Warszawa: Kasa im. Mianowskiego, 1934), pp. XI, 50. The authors of the articles were: Stefan Mladenov, 'Assemański albo Watykański Ewangeliarz' [Assemani or Vatican Gospel], p. 1-3; Jerzy Kuryłowicz, 'Bałtosłowiańska jedność językowa' [Balto-Slavic Language Unity], p. 4-7; Waclaw Zaïkyn, 'Chryścianizacja plemion słowiańskich. Ruś' [Christianization of the Slavic Tribes. Rus'], p. 7-11; Ferdo Šišić, 'Dalmacja' [Dalmatia], p. 12-15; Roman Grodecki, 'Gall-Anonim i jego kronika' [Gallus Anonymus and His Chronicle], p. 15-17; Jan Czekanowski, Włodzimierz Antoniewicz, 'Goci' [The Goths], p. 17-40; Theodor Saturník, 'Pożyczka' [Loan], p. 41-43; Antoni Florovskij, 'Psków. Handel' [Pskov. Commerce], p. 43-45; Jozef Vitěžslav Šimák, 'Rzip', p. 45-46; Vojslav Molè, 'Serbska sztuka średniowieczna' [Serbian Medieval Art], p. 46-49 and Nikola Radojčić, 'Teodosije (Teodozjusz), mnich hilendarski' [Theodosije, the Hilandar Monk], p. 49-50. As one can see, the co-operators of the edition were the best specialists from the different Slavic countries.

16. 'Slavia Antiqua', 1 (1948), comp. Preface [in English] by Witold Hensel, p. XIII-XIV.

destroyed during the Second World War. The idea of the SSS was reborn in 1949, when Prof. Tadeusz Lehr-Splawiński and Zygmunt Wojciechowski proposed 'to create a handbook, which could be prepared only by the Polish experts in Slavic studies during rather a short time, avoiding expensive and inefficient organization, which made pre-war ideas so difficult to realize'¹⁷.

Andrzej Wędzki, who was then working as an assistant, began taking part in the initial work on SSS. One must underscore his merits in the task of collecting material for the library; any place that specializes in lexicography needs a library that abounds in material. The opening of a specialist Slavic library, which now includes around 40,000 volumes, was possible thanks to A. Wędzki's untiring efforts. He visited bookshops and book-repositories, especially in Bytom, where books from German and Polish libraries destroyed by the war, were kept. He collected gifts from the Western Institute and from the Archaeological Museum in Poznań. He also made use of the international exchange network between research institutions, mainly in the then Communist countries. Additionally, he attended courses for librarians in which he learned library management, thanks to which the library now meets very high professional standards.

Well into the 1950's it became obvious that the post-war idea of the SSS as a popular scientific lexicon was unsatisfactory. The pre-war conception better reflected the needs of the European Slavists and, as a result, their work on the articles developed in the more research direction. The only distinction was that the lexicon then extant was based only on Polish authors. This difficulty served as an impulse to open up research avenues in new fields such as Balkan studies, which Polish researchers did not cover. The members of the Editorial Committee increasingly wrote articles based on their own research. Prof. Wędzki is author of several articles about the early history of Poland, Bohemia, Slovakia, Rus', the Polabian Slavs and Croatia. He coordinated whole articles about archaeology and art history¹⁸. Associate Prof. Dr. Jan

17. 'Przedmowa' [Preface], in *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich. Zeszyt dyskusyjny* [Discussion Volume] (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1958), III-VI (p. IV).

18. You can find the information about the SSS in the Prefaces to vol. 7 part 2 (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Ossolineum, 1986) and to the vol. 8 (ib., 1992-1996), cf. also Andrzej Wędzki, 'Blaski i cienie pierwszej polskiej encyklopedii sławistycznej. Uwagi na marginesie zamknięcia prac nad Słownikiem starożytności słowiańskich' [The Ups and Downs of the First Polish Slavistic Encyclopaedia. Remarks according to the End of Work on the Lexicon of the Slavic Antiquities], *Nauka Polska* (1993, No. 6), p. 89-94; idem, 'Słownik starożytności słowiańskich z perspektywy pół wieku' [SSS after a Half of Century], in *50 lat slawistyki w Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Księga jubileuszowa Instytutu Slawistyki PAN* [50 Years of Slavistics

Leśny (d.1994) specialized mainly in the history of Croatia and Western Balkans, Associate Prof. Dr. Wincenty Swoboda (d. 2000), in the history of Bulgaria, the Eastern Balkans and the steppe people, and Dr. Alina Brzostkowska, in the Slavic-Byzantine relationships.

The Lexicon of Slavic Antiquities was finished in 1996. Prof. Wędzki took part in many other works in lexicography. The cooperation between the Institute for Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Central Institute for Ancient History and Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of GDR [Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR] in East-Berlin began in 1975. Its purpose was to prepare the international and multi-volume *Enzyklopädie zur Frühgeschichte Europas* [Encyclopaedia of the Early European History]. Its task was to show the early-medieval history of the inhabitants of the Central and Eastern Europe (6th-12th centuries). The specialists from the territories that the *Encyclopaedia* covered had to be the participants in the project. It was a clear reference to the pre-war idea of the SSS, with a wider geographical extend. Prof. Wędzki was Head of the Editorial Committee of the *Encyclopaedia* and one of the Research Secretaries of the Main Editorial Council in Berlin. The Poznań Group comprised the Editorial Committee of the SSS. Their work included the coordination of national committees in Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union; the collection of written articles; and the editing and despatch of the texts to Berlin. The project was too large in scope for its time. It was not completed for two reasons: the authors' inability to meet deadlines and the absence of efficient communication technology. All the material the committee collected was edited in electronic format in the 1990's. The rest of the work was postponed¹⁹.

in the Polish Academy of Sciences. Jubilee Volume of the Institute for Slavistics of the Polish Academy of Sciences], ed. Kwiryna Handke et al. (Warszawa: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 2004), p. 199-215.

19. Andrzej Wędzki, 'O koncepcji nowej encyklopedii dotyczącej historii Europy we wczesnym średniowieczu' [About the Concept of a New Encyclopaedia about the Early-Medieval History of Europe] in *Etnolingwistyczne i kulturowe związki Słowian z Germanami* [Slavic-Germanic Ethnolinguistic and Culture Relationships], ed. by Irena Kwilecka (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Ossolineum, 1987), pp. 169-74; idem, 'Słownik starożytności słowiańskich z perspektywy', p. 209-10; cf. *Enzyklopädie zur Frühgeschichte Europas. Arbeitsmaterial, Konzeption, Musterartikel*, ed. by J. Herrmann, G. Labuda (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980, p. 7-9 (in German), p. 11-13 (in Russian), p. 15-17 (in French). A. Wędzki was an author of following articles: 'Bartenland', p. 38; 'Beskiden', p. 42-43; 'Bilwinowo', p. 43-44; 'Chodlik', p. 86-87 and 'Giecz', p. 104-05.

Prof. Wędzki also contributed to several lexicons and lexicon series in Poland and abroad. One of them was *Mały słownik kultury dawnych Słowian* [Small Lexicon of the Culture of Ancient Slavs], for which he prepared about 370 short articles on several aspects of Slavic life²⁰. He also wrote some articles for *Polski słownik biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Lexicon], a collection of biographies of Poles who shaped Polish history. In print since 1935 and highly recognized not only by Polish humanists²¹, the lexicon's publication was interrupted during the Second World War and the Stalinist period. Andrzej Wędzki contributed some articles to the *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny* [Biographical Lexicon of Great Poland] and to the *Słownik biograficzny Wielkopolski Południowo-Wschodniej - Ziemi Kaliskiej* [Biographical Lexicon of South-Eastern Great Poland - Territory of Kalisz]²². In addition, he published some articles devoted mainly to several medieval Polish localities, in the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*²³.

Andrzej Wędzki's interests in archaeology and his studies on settlement and urbanization

The second line of Prof. Wędzki's research began early in his life, either in student years or during his childhood, which he spent wandering and observing several types of culture and landscape. When his family fled from their homeland to the south, his appetite for wonder grew. He began asking questions. Why do the villages in the northern Lesser Poland differ from the ones

20. *Mały słownik kultury dawnych Słowian*, ed. by Lech Leciejewicz (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1972, 1988; 1990). He published there a historiographical study: 'Rys dziejów badań nad kulturą dawnych Słowian' [Outlines of a History of a Research on the Culture of the Ancient Slavs], *ibidem*, p. 642-654.

21. *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1-1, Kraków (afterwards Warszawa, now Kraków, several publishers, 1935-). Prof. Wędzki published several articles about the members of the Piast dynasty (mainly from Great Poland and Silesia) and about the Polish patriots living in the 19th century in the eastern (Russian) part of Great-Poland).

22. *Wielkopolski słownik biograficzny*, ed. by Jerzy Topolski (Warszawa - Poznań: PWN, 1981); *Słownik biograficzny Wielkopolski Południowo-Wschodniej Ziemi-Kaliskiej* (Kalisz: Kaliskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, vol 1, 1998; vol. 2, 2003). A. Wędzki wrote mainly the biographies of people living in the 19th century.

23. *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (München-Zürich, afterwards München: Artemis Verlag, afterwards LdMA-Verlag): 'Łąd', vol. 5, part 8, 1991, col. 1608; 'Łysa Góra', vol. 6, part 1, col. 50; 'Meseritz', vol. 6, part 3, col. 551; 'Miechów', *ibidem*, col. 615; 'Młada (Maria)', vol. 6, part 4, col. 698; 'Pfalz, Palast', part H: 'Ostmitteleuropa', vol. 6, part 9, 1993, col. 2007-2008; 'Teschen', vol. 8, part 3, 1996, col. 562-563; 'Wiślica', vol. 9, part 2, 1998, col. 257-258; 'Włocławek', *ibidem*, col. 288.

in Great Poland? Why do the forms of settlement in one region differ from those of other territories? Which dynamics in human history resulted in the varying plans and shapes of villages, towns and cities? Prof. Wędzki, as an expert in the history of settlement and urbanization, devoted his whole life to finding answers to these questions.

Since archaeology was one of his main interests, he may be the first historian, who crossed disciplines to tackle questions that concerned archaeology. During his studies, he wandered in the region of Leszno and Poznań (afterwards Łąd in eastern Great Poland) and explored the surface sites, where he collected artefacts from ancient settlements. He handed all the objects he found to the Archaeological Museum in Poznań, and made a detailed documentation of the sites. Archaeologists highly appreciate his early activity, because several sites were afterwards destroyed, and Prof. Wędzki's notes are the only testimonies of their existence²⁴.

Exactly after finishing his informal 'post-graduate studies' and beginning work on the edition of the SSS, Prof. Andrzej Wędzki started to prepare his PhD thesis on the seminar of Prof. Wojciechowski. When Prof. Wojciechowski died in 1955, Wędzki proceeded with his work on the seminar of Prof. Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk. The latter was a specialist in the history of law and, as I mentioned earlier, one of the professors at the Faculty of Law and Economics in the University of Poznań²⁵.

One of the participants of seminars referred that 'A group that met on the doctoral seminary of Prof. Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk was numerous and consisted of many generations and was worthy, worthy in such sense that the impulses glittered there, that a great research potential was hidden in it'²⁶. Just

24. Dr Jarmila Kaczmarek from the Archaeological Museum in Poznań characterized the role of Prof. Wędzki for the archaeology in the letter to the author of this article from 26 January 2007: "Andrzej Wędzki's research had the character of the listing of archaeological sites with the surface method. They were led in several locations, mainly in Great Poland, more seldom in Cuyavia. They resulted in the discovery of several new sites, sometimes they verified the sites which had already been known. A part of them was afterwards completely destroyed by numerous investments and the A. Wędzki's works are the only one testimony of their existence. Very important was, that A. Wędzki added the localization maps, what was not the general practice at that time, although highly recommended. The materials given to the museum are research full-worth and are still used in several studies". Cf. Ryszard Grzesik, 'Profesor Andrzej Wędzki jako archeolog i sławista – w 80-lecie urodzin' [Prof. Andrzej Wędzki as Archaeologist and Slavist - in His 80th Birthday], *Slavia Antiqua*, 48 (2007), p. 285-316 with a list of explored archaeological sites.

25. Compare n. 6 above.

26. H. Olszewski, *Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk 1911-1980*, p. 21.

the work on his PhD-Theses show an important feature of Andrzej Wędzki's research personality. As his colleague from seminar wrote:

'Andrzej Wędzki, a worker of the Polish Academy of Sciences, was a special guest [of the seminar - R. G.]. He changed during the classes from a lawyer [sic - R. G.] into the archaeologist and pre-historian, because he actively worked on the artefacts, explaining the origin of the city centre in Łąd near Konin. The subject was extremely interesting to our Master [i.e. Prof. Kaczmarczyk - R. G.]. I wondered and I recognize until nowadays, with which animation he [i. e. Prof. Kaczmarczyk - R. G.] observed and discussed the bricks and other artefacts of the medieval culture, which were taken to the seminar. This animation was so alive that we all let us participate in the discussion'²⁷.

A. Wędzki narrowed down his topic for the PhD thesis, centering on the former territory of Łąd Castellany. He explained his interest in the subject:

The territories of Łąd Castellany are situated in the former [i.e. in the 19th century - R. G.] Russian part of Poland, and little is known about them. The work, therefore, aims to deepen our knowledge about this region. The inclusion of the capital of Castellany, Łąd, in the research project, in accordance with the millenary of Polish statehood, creates an opportunity to begin historical research on this region. The fact that these territories then comprised a borderland of Great Poland gives rise to an occasion to analyse the creation of intertribal borders and the subsequent divisions.²⁸

For the first time, his interest in archaeology became obvious in his article on the preliminary results of his examination of the stronghold in Łąd. The author described a former stronghold and underlined that archaeologists had never looked into it before. He tried to date it according to the surface findings on the 10th century. It was probably inhabited until the 13th century. One could connect the stronghold with a Castellany seat mentioned in the Bull of Gniezno in 1136. The fall of the stronghold could likewise be linked to the interregional fights between the Great-Polish and Cuyavian princes in the mid-13th century. A suburb with two churches and a market settlement in contemporary town Łądek was situated nearby. A Cistercian monastery was

27. *Ibidem*, p. 19-21. On p. 19 in n.14 s. 19 we read the erroneous information that A. Wędzki's PhD was never published. We could add that Prof. Wędzki interests in numismatic, as well.

28. Andrzej Wędzki, 'Rozwój osadnictwa i podziały terytorialne ziemi łądzkiej do końca XIV wieku' [Settlement Development and Territorial Divisions of the Łąd Territory Until the End of the 14th Century], *Slavia Antiqua*, 13 (1966), 1-141 (p. 1). It is an abbreviated version of his PhD-Theses.

founded in Łąd at the end of the 12th century. It tried to claim ownership of what remained of the stronghold at the end of the 13th century with a forged document dated 1236. The author concluded that 'Łąd seem(ed) to be a settlement complex that served military, economic and religious purposes. One can include it among such primary centres of the Early-Piast state as Giecz, Włocławek, Łęczycza'²⁹.

The above-mentioned article indicated the Prof. Wędzki's opinions about the region of Łąd. He studied its other locations like Zagórow or Słupca. Here we can observe another feature of his research: A. Wędzki transgressed chronological boundaries. He can competently discuss the national uprisings in the 19th century in the Russian part of Poland (i.e. in the so-called Kingdom of Poland), just as well as he observes the development of a village, town or city from its very beginnings to its present state. He paints a clear and comprehensible picture of history. In his monograph on Słupca, he considered the history of the place in its broader context for the first time. In the same work, he also discussed the settlement and administrative changes that occurred in regional towns and villages until 1945³⁰.

New methodology of settlement-studies

From the very beginning of his career, Andrzej Wędzki had great interest in the history of settlement and administrative structures, such as strongholds, borders and border shifts. Scholars had investigated these subjects before, but

29. Andrzej Wędzki, 'Gród w Łądzie w świetle dotychczasowych badań' [Stronghold in Łąd in the Light of Hitherto Research], *Z otchłani wieków*, 23, 6 (1957), 321-26 (p. 325). We can add that he did not comment the thesis that Łąd would be a capital of a tribe *Lendizi*. Later he rejected this old hypothesis, cf. Idem, 'Z problematyki badań historycznych wczesnośredniowiecznego Łądu' [About the Problems of the Historical Research of the Early-Medieval Łąd], in *Gród wczesnośredniowieczny w Łądzie nad środkową Wartą. Materiały z seminarium nt. Badania archeologiczne w Łądzie. Próba interpretacji przynależności plemiennej i funkcji grodu*, 26 i 27 VI 1974 [Early-Medieval Stronghold in Łąd on the Middle Course of Warta-River. Materials of the Seminar: Archaeological Research in Łąd. Trial of the Interpretation of the Stronghold's Tribal Belonging and of its Function], ed. by Włodzimierz Błaszczyk (Poznań: Muzeum Archeologiczne w Poznaniu, 1978), 45-52 (p. 47).

30. Andrzej Wędzki, Critical Note from: Zygmunt Pęcherski, *Krótką historia miasta Zagórowa* [Short History of the Town Zagórow] (Konin: Obywatelski Komitet Obchodu 550-lecia Miasta Zagórowa, 1957), published in *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza* 5, 1 (1959), p. 403-05; idem, 'Zarys dziejów Słupcy i powiatu słupckiego' [Outline of History of Słupca and Its County], in *Dzieje ziemi słupckiej. Praca zbiorowa* [History of the Słupca-Territory. A Collective Work], without editor, (Słupca - Poznań: PWN, 1960, p. 55-145).

the lack of written sources limited their research. Wędzki's interdisciplinary methodology was a solution to this problem. He was probably the first historian who used the discipline of archaeology in his method of research. As a result of his observation, he formulated his interdisciplinary methodology, which relies on the cooperation of three fields: 'pure' history, art history and archaeology.

Incomparably more possibilities in it [i.e. in the reconstruction of the settlement extent in a defined period – R. G.] give the scores of the archaeological excavations, and not only stationary, comprising the systematic excavations on chosen sites, but also the surface, together with those in frames of the Archaeological Picture of Poland and with causal findings of each type. All types of the archaeological findings should be taken into consideration: the relics of the strongholds (strongholds of the different preservation), traces of the open settlements, cemeteries, single graves, treasures and single findings of several types. The progress of the archaeological research lets us date just relatively exactly several groups of artefacts, including the most numerous relics of the ceramics.

The cartographic presentation of all archaeological findings, and in some chronological profiles, makes the understanding of the process of settlement in defined territories possible. Settlement centres appear there with a great distinctiveness: strongholds with surrounding settlements and cemeteries. Their dimension, placement on the background of the natural milieu, mutual placement in the succeeding development phases could help formulate conclusions according to their character and the dynamic of their development. Comparison of the scores with other sources (historical, art-historical e.g. from the analyse of the objects of the Romanesque or Gothic architecture, cartographical and linguistic) lets us conclude more competently. The inclusion of the archaeological excavations is more effective, because one obtained the mass material thanks to the detailed archaeological penetration of the Polish territories. It makes wider interpretation possibilities. Therefore this method, in which the archaeological materials are the leading source, was successfully used in different studies, and the conclusions made the understanding of the process of creation of the territorial divisions more comprehensible. One of the more constant results is the recognition of the territorial structure of the Polish territories in the period before the origin of the state of the first Piasts, as well as more detailed search of the process of creation of its new territorial organization³¹.

31. Andrzej Wędzki, 'Przydatność badań archeologicznych do odtworzenia podziałów terytorialnych wczesnego średniowiecza' [Usefulness of the Archaeological Research in the

Commenting on these words we can mention that an archaeological source is a direct source for a historian, according to a rule: *sum ergo fui*. The archaeologists' task is to search and describe the artefact in details, and historians (but also archaeologists) will interpret the source reconstructing the historical process thanks to it and using the common methods for both disciplines (as cartographical or comparative). We have here the inductive inference (and further inductive-deductive)³².

This method was used by the Professor for the first time in his PhD-Theses, which were devoted, as we know, to the development of a settlement and the territorial divisions of the Łąd Castellany³³. He analysed the problem in a model way. At the beginning, he described the geographical milieu of the region (with the soils, the mineral sources exploited in the Middle Ages, hydrography and the forests). Further chapters described the history of the settlement of the region in following periods: of the Roman influences³⁴, Early Middle Ages (until the mid-10th century), period until the end of the 11th century, the mid-13th century and finally the end of the 14th century³⁵. After

Reconstruction of the Early Medieval Territorial Divisions], in *Historia prawa. Historia kultury. Liber Memorialis Vitoldo Maisel dedicatus* [History of Law. History of Culture], ed. by Ewa Borkowska-Bagińska and Henryk Olszewski, Poznań: Printer 1994, 41-48 (p. 45).

32. To the question of the source-criticism of the archaeological sources cf. e. g. Zofia and Stanisław Kurnatowscy, 'Możliwości poznawczego wykorzystania źródeł archeologicznych' [Possibilities of the Cognitive Usage of the Archaeological Sources], in *Ad fontes. O naturze źródła historycznego* [About the Nature of a Historical Source], ed. Stanisław Rosik and Przemysław Wiszewski (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004) (*Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis*, No 2675, *Historia* 170), 27-32.

33. Compare n. 28 above. Wędzki's studies were often quoted by the archaeologists, as by the authors of a fundamental catalogue of the archaeological sites in Great Poland: Witold Hensel and Zofia Hilczer-Kurnatowska (in vol. 7 with Alina Łosińska), *Studia i materiały do osadnictwa Wielkopolski wczesnohistorycznej* [Studies and Materials to the Settlement of the Early-Historical Great Poland], vol. 3 (Warszawa: PWN, 1959); vol. 4 (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Ossolineum, 1972); vol. 5 (ibidem, 1980); vol. 6 (ibidem, 1987); vol. 7 (Poznań-Toruń: ALGO, 1995).

34. A critical reviewer of a work Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, critical note published in: *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, 17, 3 (1969), 532-38 (p. 533) questioned the sense of the analyse of the settlement in this period, because 'the problems of both periods are completely different'. However, the A. Wędzki's standpoint seems to be more convenient for historians, because it makes the analyse of the dynamics of the settlement changes in the next periods more comprehensible.

35. Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz in her critical note (comp. previous note) questioned the sense of an analyse of this last period. She did not pay attention for the fact that the mid-13th century created a clear caesura in the history of the region: end of the existence of the stronghold in Łąd and translocation of the administrative centre of the Castellany to Konin.

the extensive analyse of the archaeological artefacts³⁶ and the historical sources, the Author concluded that the Early-Medieval Łąd was strongly connected to the Gniezno settlement and defended the forth on the Warta-River, on a way from Gniezno to Kalisz, which crossed with a way from Rus' to Pomerania there. It defended, also, the Gniezno territory from southern, from Kalisz settlement. Łąd was one of the exit points of the Piast expansion to the south and east-south, in direction of Kalisz and Łęczyca. The stronghold in Konin played a minor role, defending the forth on the Rus' way. There was a settlement desolation eastern of Konin, separating Gniezno (Polanie) settlement and the settlement of Łęczyca (Koło, Turek)³⁷. The including these centres to the Castellany of Łąd was a consequence of the conscious integration politics of the first Piasts, who destroyed the former tribal borders. Why did Łąd lose its importance in the 13th century and did not evolve in a town or city, as neighbour Konin? The Author's answer is simple: fights between Bolesław the Pious, the prince of Kalisz (and the whole Great Poland) against Kasimir, Konrad's son, the prince of Cuyavia, for the Łąd Castellany, finishing with recovery of its territory by the Great-Polish prince, but, also, with destruction of the stronghold. The second reason was the founding of new towns: Pyzdry and Słupca in the region, lying on new trade ways³⁸.

The consequence of Andrzej Wędzki's research activity was wider interest to the history of Konin as a new centre of the Łąd castellany. The correspondence in a private archive of Professor³⁹ as well as the extensive expertise for

36. The method of basement on the surface findings in the analyse was criticized in his critical review by Stanisław Zajączkowski, critical note in *Roczniki Historyczne*, 35 (1969), p. 177-183. He disagreed, also, with the analyse of a wider territory, circulating the Castellany, what resulted - according to him - with the inclusion of a part of the Łęczyca settlement, which never belonged to Great Poland. According to me such analyse was indispensable for the understanding of the administrative changes in the borderland.

37. The Author analysed the Early-Medieval settlement of Koło region in collective work: *Sześćset lat miasta Koła* [600 Years of Town Koło], ed. by Józef Burszta (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 1963), p. 9-37.

38. Andrzej Wędzki in his critical note from a book: *Z dziejów regionu konińskiego* [From the history of Konin region], ed. Anna Kotulowa (Wrocław: Ossolineum 1970); published in *Slavia Antiqua*, 18 (1971), 388-92 (p. 390) wrote: 'One may conclude that the both Warta-strongholds defended the forth on the river used by two meridionally ways and the changes in their routes played one of the decisive role in the loose of importance [by Łąd], and preserving it by Konin'.

39. For example letters to engineer Antoni Studziński about the questions of history of Konin, to Anna Magórska, MA of architecture about the Konin Jews or to Eugeniusz Makulski MA, a parish-priest of a church in Licheń about the medieval penitential cross in Licheń, used as medieval traffic-signal.

the Social-Culture Society (Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne) in Konin containing the conservatory outlines, how to renovate the Old Town in Konin (used at the turn of Millenaries for the restoration of this part of a city)⁴⁰ testify it. Apart from the studies of regional towns (as Pyzdry), he wrote the first synthesis of a history of Konin until the end of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth⁴¹.

Andrzej Wędzki did not limit his work to Konin and its region. He studied other towns and cities of Great Poland, the Lebus Land, western part of the Suwałki region and the region of Miechów. He participated in the collective work: *Miasta polskie w Tysiącleciu* [Polish Towns and Cities in a Millenary], for which he prepared 38 articles⁴². One may conclude that his main area of interests are the regional studies. He writes the outlines of history of towns and villages, participates, also, in editing of local syntheses⁴³. Recently Pałuki, i.e. north-eastern part of Great Poland are the main point of his interest. His newest book is devoted to this topic⁴⁴.

40. Andrzej Wędzki, 'Konin. Studium historyczno-urbanistyczne' [Historical-Urbanistic Study], Poznań 1979, pp. 116, 2 without pagination, typescript, possession of the Author, folder: Konin. Studium. Cf. Tadeusz Sudół, K. Łabędzka, T. Jurga, *Stary Konin. Rewaloryzacja, Materiały przygotowane przez Zespół projektowy TKT Instytutu Architektury i Planowania Przestrzennego Politechniki Poznańskiej* [Old Konin. Revalorization. Materials prepared by the Project Group of the Institute for Architecture and the Spatial Planning of the Poznań Technical University], Poznań [1986], typescript in collection of Prof. Wędzki; Piotr Rybczyński, 'Nowe oblicze konińskiej Starówki' [New Face of the Old Town in Konin], *Rocznik Koniński*, 14 (2003), p. 267-73.

41. Andrzej Wędzki, 'Pyzdry. Studia nad najdawniejszymi dziejami miasta do najazdu krzyżackiego (1331)' [Studies on the Oldest History of the Town Until the Incursion of the German Order (1331)], *Rocznik Koniński*, 10 (1982), p. 9-47; idem, 'Pyzdry późnośredniowieczne' [Late Medieval Pyzdry], *ibidem*, 12, 1998, p. 33-74; idem, *Konin w czasach przedrozbiorowych* (Konin: Apeks, 2000). The first both articles have been re-edited in a new book of Professor: Andrzej Wędzki, *Przechadzki po Wielkopolsce* [Walking through Great Poland] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, PTPN, 2007), p. 57-129 (with a complete Bibliography of Author's works ed. by Wojciech Mądry and Ryszard Grzesik).

42. *Miasta polskie w Tysiącleciu* [Polish Cities and Towns in the Millenary], ed. by Mateusz Siuchniński (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Ossolineum, 1967), vol 2.

43. For example *Monografia Koźmina Wielkopolskiego i okolic. Praca zbiorowa* [Monography of Koźmin Wielkopolski and Region. A collective work], ed. by Michał Pietrowski and Andrzej Wędzki (Koźmin Wielkopolski: Koźmińska Fundacja na Rzecz Wydania Monografii o Koźminie, 2006), where he wrote chapters about the late Middle Ages and Modern Times until the end of the 18th century.

44. A. Wędzki, *Przechadzki*, as in n. 41 above.

Studies on the city-reform

On the margin of his settlement studies he started to pay more attention, also, for the problems of originating of towns and cities in Poland and in the whole Central Europe. He joined to alive discussion, led mainly in Polish historiography. There was a problem, how to interpret the fact that in the 13th and 14th century the towns and cities 'on the German law' originated. Was it connected with the foreign (i.e. German) ethnos, which took the high culture to the 'barbarian' territories, as the nationalist German historiography mentioned, or was it a result of evolution of a Polish society, where the existence of German colonists was only causal and without meaning, as thought the representatives of the Polish national historiography⁴⁵. Andrzej Wędzki devoted his Habilitationsschrift to the topic of locations⁴⁶. He suggested introducing a new term: the urban reform, which made the analyse of the topic from the wider perspective possible⁴⁷. The city-location on the foreign (German) law was only a stage in the development of a city. The Author described first of all the development of the urban settlements on the native law (what was sceptically accepted by the reviewers reproaching him that he created the law fiction⁴⁸) showing their development as the centres of the political, cultural, commercial and production life located near the strongholds. There were huge concentrations of population, distinguishing the towns from other types of settlement by their functions, but also by the law regulations (*ius fori*). Foreign merchants and craftsmen settled there, creating the city-

45. To the topic of the history of towns and cities in Poland cf. Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej* [History of Towns/Cities and the Burghers in Poland Before the Division of the State] (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Ossolineum, 1986) – Medieval part described by Prof. Samsonowicz.

46. Andrzej Wędzki, *Początki reformy miejskiej w Środkowej Europie do połowy XIII wieku (Słowiańszczyzna Zachodnia)* [Origins of the Urban Reform in the Central Europe Until the Mid-13th Century (Western Slav Territories)] (Warszawa-Poznań: PWN, 1974).

47. This term was accepted by critical reviewers: Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk, in *Studia i Materiały do dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, 12, 1 = 23 (1976), 195-196 (p. 196) and Gerard Labuda in *Roczniki Historyczne*, 43 (1977), 185-188 (p. 187), who underlined the innovatory character of the work, rejected by Walter Kuhn in *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 26, 4 (1977), 698-702 (p. 701), and mainly by Benedykt Zientara, 'Przełom w rozwoju miast środkowoeuropejskich w pierwszej połowie XIII wieku' [Turning-Point in the Development of the Central-European Cities in the First Half of the 13th Century], *Przegląd Historyczny*, 67, 2 (1976), 219-243 (p. 223-225). Henryk Samsonowicz in a work quoted above in n. 45 also did not use this term.

48. As Jan Zemlička in *Československý časopis historický*, 24, 2, 1976, 302 - it is impossible to proof the existence of a native law in the sources.

parts with own (foreign) laws. Their presence accelerated the city reform. The Author presented its course not limiting to the territory of Poland (as usual in Polish literature), but analysing the Polabian Slavs, Pomerania, Prussia, Bohemia with Moravia and Hungary, concentrating himself on Slovakia⁴⁹. After presentation of the course of the urban-reform in the Central Europe, its features were characterized by the author from several points of view: law and social changes (originating of a new social state, i.e. a group of population living according to a common law, other than obligatory to others; changing in the relationship with the owner); economic changes (immunities and donations to the burghers) and surface (new plans of the settlements).

Prof. Wędzki has been faithful to the problems of urbanization and settlement. His next book *Ze studiów nad procesami osadniczymi ziem Polski zachodniej* [From the studies on the Settlement Processes of the Territories of Western Poland] could be an example. He analysed the routes of the trade ways in the western Poland, the origins of towns in three regions of Poland: territories of Lebus, Leszno and Kalisz and the settlement of the micro-region of Izdebnó (Pałuki)⁵⁰.

A kind of conclusion

How to summarize the research personality of Professor Andrzej Wędzki? One needs a historical-methodological reflection here. Since the formation of the critical historiography in the 17th century, one observes progressing of specialization of the historical science. Especially the 19th century increased this process, when the Genetic method of explanation appeared. The researchers explained the past by constructing the causal-consecutive relations resulted in the concentration of the researchers on details and loosing the wider sense of topic. One can metaphorically say that the researchers saw single trees, even the construction of leaves or rifts of bark, but they did not observe the forest as a whole. The historians started dividing according to their specialities for the researcher of separated epochs or periods, narrow disciplines and they did not see anything out of their speciality. One can be a specialist of a Middle Ages or of Modern Times, a researcher of chronicles, culture, economy, politi-

49. Prof. Zdzisław Kaczmarczyk (as in n. 47), p. 196, wrote rightly that apart from Slovakia and contemporary Hungary, Transilvania should be analyzed.

50. A. Wędzki, *Ze studiów nad procesami osadniczymi ziem Polski zachodniej. Wybrane zagadnienia* [From the studies on the Settlement Processes of the Territories of Western Poland. Chosen Questions], (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków: Ossolineum, 1987).

cal relationship, one can deal with a history of continent or a country or a region, even be a specialist of a past of one city/town/village, without interests to the events which had place out of the way-table showing the end of a unit, which is a research territory.

The historiography at the turn of the 19th and 20th century was conscious of the dangers of such model of making history. We can mention some synthetically trials of solving the problem, as *Kulturgeschichte* by Karl Lamprecht. The most effective trial was to build the structural model of explanation connected with activity of French milieu of the Annales. Rather not to be accepted by the historians is the Post-Modernistic model, which doubts the existence of past reality and reduces the historiography into a branch of novelistic. But worth mentioning are the postulates of crossing the borders between the periods and even the research disciplines (not only humanistic)⁵¹.

There is a wide group of researchers who does not write the theoretical studies. They cultivate, one could think, a traditional historiography, but they destroy in practice the mental borders. I think that the research personality of Prof. Andrzej Wędzki belongs to this group. As we saw, his activity concentrates on several fields of historical research. He abolishes the barriers between the disciplines and the times. He is known as a medievalist but he wrote several studies about the Modern Times. He writes competently the archaeological or numismatic outlines, and he can study the fates of the heroes of the Polish independent uprisings from the 19th century. He is known as a Slavist, a specialist of West-Slavic or West-Balkan history, but as well he is (and he feels) a regionalist, a specialist in the local history of Great Poland. He observes the local societies in a wider context of history of a country, a region or a continent. He goes out from the only one right premise: that the history is a continuous process and if somebody wants to recognize the history of a described territorial unit (independently of its area), he must analyse the wide period, the best the history in its totality and the processes elsewhere. Therefore, he describes the local history from the very beginning until now-

51. B. Kürbis, *Metody* (as in n. 4 above), passim. From the rich Polish literature about the methodology of history cf. e.g. many articles published in a work: Ad fontes (as in n. 32 above); Jerzy Topolski, *Jak się pisze i rozumie historię. Tajemnice narracji historycznej* [How to Write and Understand the History. The Enigma of the Historical Narration] (Warszawa: Rytm, 1996); recently Ewa Domańska, *Historie niekonwencjonalne. Refleksja o przeszłości w nowej humanistyce* [Unconventional Histories. Reflections on the Past in the New Humanities] (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2006) – the latter base on the American concept of an unconventional history.

days. Moreover, he bases mainly on the unpublished archival material. Therefore, his studies have the source-character.

As we can see, Andrzej Wędzki concentrates on the local history of cities, towns and villages, which stayed out of interests of not only the researchers, but their inhabitants as well. He describes their history with as many details as possible. In this way, he creates theoretical models of development of settlement structures, which could be used in several other regions. His studies have one more feature, which the most often escapes the attention of the authors of the syntheses: description of the fates of individual people. He reconstructs their names and professions from the sources. They animate under his pen. He returns to the Marc Bloch's meaning of history as a history of a person in time⁵².

We can, therefore, sum up that thanks to the features of his historiography, i.e. integration of several historical disciplines (archaeology, pure history, art history, social, political and culture history) and demolishing the chronological barriers (Middle Ages, Modern Times, contemporary history) Professor Andrzej Wędzki inscribes himself in the stream of overcoming of the limitations of the Genetic model of explanation without, however, resignation of its positives. This stream is typical for the modern history. His activity inscribes itself, therefore, in the main stream of the contemporary historiography.

Chronology

14 Nov. 1927 - Born in Leszno.

1 IX 1939 - Nazi-German aggression against Poland, beginning of the World War 2nd, expulsion from Leszno to Cracow and Miechów. Illegal elementary and middle education.

1945 - return to Leszno

1946-1951 - Studies at the University of Poznań, Law-Economic Faculty.

1953-2006 - Work in the Editorial Committee of the *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* [Lexicon of the Slavic Antiquities]

1962 - Defended his PhD-Theses (partly published 1966).

1975 - Defended his Habilitationsschrift.

1984-2006 - Chief of the Faculty of History of the Institute for Slavistics of the Polish Academy of Sciences

52. Marc Bloch, *Pochwała historii czyli o zawodzie historyka* [Glory of a History or about the Profession of a Historian], transl. by Wanda Jedlicka and Witold Kula (Warszawa: PWN, 1962), p. 32, 34.

1988 - Nomination for Professor

Since 2006 - Professor-emeritus of the Institute for Slavistics of the Polish Academy of Sciences, still active as a researcher.

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Rocznik Koniński - since 1997 member of the Editorial Board.

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José Luis Romero (1909 – 1977)

Ariel Guiance

Few figures have left an indelible impression in the field of medieval historiography in 20th century Argentina. One such figure is José Luis Romero. He represents, among other things, the birth of a new branch of studies that arose as a result of *encounter*. *Encounter*, in the first place, between a historical phenomenon that was shaped by the immense waves of European migration and a space in which the presence of the indigenous population was reduced to nothing and it had been disappearing along the 19th century. *Encounter* of a dominant cultural tradition in the 19th century, which aspired to tie its past to the European tradition: first to France and England, then, once independence had been obtained, to Spain. *Encounter* of a local intellectuality who didn't doubt to care foreign investigation lines and an important number of foreign figures that, for different reasons, had arrived to the country along this time. *Encounter*, finally, of a handful of big teachers (among those that Romero himself stands out) who knew to create school and an appreciable quantity of human resources associated to them. In summary, it's a complex interplay of factors that gave rise to the development of a specialization that nowadays has become a branch related to the study of European history, a field of study that has broader scope and more integral than any other in Argentina.

José Luis Romero stands out as one of the founders of that tradition of local medievalists, a role that he shares with another intellectual: Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz¹, born in Spain but who spent a great of his career in Argentina. Although Romero and Albornoz understood history in different ways and from varied perspectives, both knew how to inculcate their work ethic and spread their authentic passion for medieval Europe, in which they saw an immediate and necessary antecedent of the American evolution. Representatives of an intelligentsia that sought to combine politics and academic research, both Romero and Albornoz shine as authentic children of their time and privileged witnesses of the changing social climate in the 20th century. Romero is a clear exponent of those changes and his work mirrors

1. The figure of Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz was already been object of a study in the first volume of this work, due to José Luis Martín's work.

the transformation that took place in Argentina. His significance in the intellectual life of Argentina warrants an analysis of his interest in medieval history, which he considered as key to understanding contemporary world. Since many experts have already engaged with Romero's works, I shall approach his works using another method. I shall analyze them using his own words. Such words have been published in a book, the result of several interviews which he gave up to the end of his life, where a mature Romero revealed his opinion about what he understood by history and the way it should be cultivated. I will attempt to approach Romero according to Romero himself and, at the same time, show how his spirit and thought reflected in his works throughout his career. I shall limit myself to an analysis of Romero as a medievalist (since, as we will see, he also worked on American and Argentinean history), a title with which he wanted himself known, although he had to justify it among those who thought that it was an eccentric interest for a South American.

Early life

As it one of latest biographers pointed out, 'for family and intellectual relationships, the formation [...] of Romero it was associated to an idea of socialism as a progressive vision of the communicable reality with the political liberalism'². The youngest son of a family of Spanish immigrants, José Luis Romero was born in Buenos Aires in 1909. As Romero acknowledged on many occasions, his older brother Francisco, 15 years senior, was responsible for mapping out his own development. Francisco was a philosopher who would become another outstanding figure in the Argentine intellectual circles at the beginning of the 20th century. Francisco would bring him the first works of history that he would know: 'the first book that I read [pointed out in the former interview] was the *History of Greece* by Curtius, which my brother had [...]. Later, a friend of my siblings [...] introduced me to the *Universal History* by Glotz, that started to be printed'³. The discovery of Troy by Schliemann, next to Curtius' text, would offer Romero one of his most important intellectual experiences: 'Suddenly I discovered that the history was constructed, that the history was mobile...', which means that historical knowledge 'is not

2. O. Acha, *La trama profunda. Historia y vida en José Luis Romero* (Buenos Aires: El cielo por asalto, 2005), p. 44.

3. F. Luna, *Conversaciones con José Luis Romero. Sobre una Argentina con historia, política y democracia* (Buenos Aires: Editorial de Belgrano, 1978), p. 82 (from now on, mentioned *Conversaciones*).

only [...] the phenomenon of accumulation of data, but also the force of the trials and hypotheses that open new roads of knowledge'⁴. This interest motivated his brother, once again, 'to put in my room a bookcase that there was at home; he lowered all the history books that he found and put them there'⁵. In such a way, the young Romero found himself with a pile of readings that would become a decisive factor in his academic future and his personal work.

Aside from receiving primary education from his family, Romero also attended the Jesuit School del Salvador, where he studied until his father's death, when he was forced to move to a public school, because they could no longer afford private education — 'after the not unusual discovery that who had been seemingly prosperous merchant didn't leave behind nothing with what to sustain his numerous family'⁶—. In spite reverses in their fortune, the quality of the education of the Romero children was not sacrificed. Romero related that when he arrived 'in the year '29, to the Faculty [of Humanities of the National University of La Plata, city in the south of Buenos Aires], I was a little different (from the other) student(s)⁷, because, 'I have read a lot about Greek history, a lot of Roman history and a little bit of medieval history'. Romero owed the strong foundation in humanities and general culture from the education he received at home, and it was a legacy that he treasured most in his life. Romero expressed his grievance when the Argentine middle classes in the 1960's lost the humanistic trait of their education. Indeed, when he was asked about the lack of 'general culture' that some post-1950's historians exhibited, he unhesitantly indicated: 'Try to discover what interest (these historians) have in literature, in arts, or in philosophy, and you will discover that it is scarce; therefore, the historian's horizon is reduced'. In broader terms, he dared to say: 'What is disappearing is the concern for the general culture! It is a terrible thing....'⁸. His strong opinion on the need for education in the humanities made Romero an archetype of the ideal that European immigrants upheld. They believed education to be the tool for personal progress and they strove to avail their Argentinean children quality education despite all odds. Romero remained a stalwart defender of this idea up to the end of his life. He viewed 'Argentina (as) a country where many things can still be done, where

4. *Ibidem*, p. 82-83.

5. *Ibidem*, p. 84.

6. T. Halperín Donghi, 'José Luis Romero y su lugar en la historiografía argentina', *Desarrollo económico*, v. 20, nro. 78 (1980), 249-274 (the quote in p. 249).

7. *Conversaciones*, p. 84.

8. *Ibidem*, p. 40 y 39 respectively.

each one has his staff in his own backpack'⁹. His view on the importance of education given within the family circle acquires significance if we consider that Romero never believed his university learning to have contributed much to his development. During those years, Argentinean historiography was dominated by the 'New Historical School'. Greatly influenced by the German school, based on Berheim's book, this group of historians boasted of the following distinctive features: 'historiographic knowledge, documental heuristic, methodological investigation from the genesis of the historical process, integral conception of history emphasizing the economic and social factors, and nationalist spirit'¹⁰. The group privileged American and Argentinian history over others, and they were obsessed with methodological accuracy. However, Romero did not show interest in historiography that was in vogue then, since he preferred classical Greek and Roman history. Much later he would qualify Clemente Ricci as one of the few university professors who taught him 'to work (on) what later (on) would be my job'. He was a 'truly relentless character as regards methodological rigor'¹¹. By this time he was attending university, Romero had already begun working as a schoolteacher, a post he held for almost ten years.

Romero's years at the university were affected by a crucial event in contemporary Argentinean history. In 1930 the country experienced the first military putsch of the modern era, headed by General José Félix Uriburu, who overthrew Hipólito Yrigoyen. Romero himself was opposed to Yrigoyen, although he soon feared the authoritarian bent of the new military regime. Many of his lecturers and colleagues decided to embrace the Socialist Party, because they understood it was 'the last virtuous redoubt to fight, intellectually or organizationally, a reality experienced as threatening'¹². Romero did not join this party at that moment. His political activity was limited to supporting factions that united to challenge the new military government. This would

9. *Ibidem*, p. 172.

10. B. Moreyra, 'La historiografía', in *Nueva historia de la Nación argentina*, ed. by Academia Nacional de la Historia (Buenos Aires: Planeta, 2003), t. X, p. 69. An analysis of the victory of the New Historical School (thanks of the Argentinean political changes after 1930) it can be seen in T. Halperín Donghi, 'Un cuarto de siglo de historiografía argentina', *Desarrollo económico*, v. 25, nro. 100 (1986), 487-520.

11. *Conversaciones*, p. 87. Clemente Ricci was an Italian historian who lived in Argentina since 1893, pupil of Cesare Cantù. He was professor of history of the religions and of history of Greece, Rome and Middle Ages in the University of Buenos Aires. One of his fundamental works is *La significación histórica del cristianismo*, published in 1909.

12. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 44.

be his first contact with politics. Possibly owing to his contradictory ideologies and the dynamics of Argentinean history, Romero experienced many high and low moments in his political activity, in contrast to his academic career.

Reflections on history and the problem of Western civilisation

Between 1935 and 1936, Romero would travel to Europe for seven months together with his wife, observing the quick transformation that happened in that continent in eve of the war. In that trip he wrote a series of brief articles about his daily experiences. This body of short works would eventually gain significance in his subsequent work: the analysis of the urban world¹³. Later on, Romero would qualify that journey as responsible for his interest in medieval history: 'what really decided my interests and my turn towards medievalism was a long journey to Europe, with my wife, (in which) I discovered the medieval world and a little of the Baroque world; and I could no longer abandon it'¹⁴. He obtained his PhD at the University of La Plata in 1937. His thesis consisted in an in-depth study of Roman politics, which he would revise and publish in his book *La crisis de la república romana. Los Gracos y la recepción de la política imperial helenística* (1942)¹⁵. His presentation of the topic offers an image of the Gracos as prophets of political change, who foresaw —thanks to their knowledge of the reaches of the hellenistic imperialism— the transformation that will be imposed by the Empire in the Roman structure of power.

At the same time, Romero also began the analysis of another principal idea that was central to his thought, which was, 'the formulation of basic principles for historical inquiry [...] that (would be) a product of his own reflection starting from readings that (were) not mainly historical'¹⁶. The first expression of that work line was the essay *La formación histórica* (published in 1936¹⁷). In this essay, Romero introduced one of the future axes of all his work: the crisis of Western civilization, which he identified specifically as a crisis of the bourgeois civilization. In short, he stands by sustains that no historical form

13. A study of those trip notes can be found in *ibidem*, p. 150-153.

14. *Conversaciones*, p. 87.

15. Published in that year in Buenos Aires by the editorial Losada (repr. 1980).

16. T. Halperin Donghi, 'José Luis Romero', p. 259.

17. It is a conference given at the Universidad Nacional del Litoral (Santa Fe, Argentina) and published by that House of studies in this year. Repr. in the collection of Romero's works, *La vida histórica*, Buenos Aires, 1988, p. 40-55 – repr. that I will mention in the henceforth–.

of life 'had the arrogance of attempting the taming of the spirit to demonstrate that it can also be value of change. This is the worst crime of the bourgeoisie'¹⁸. Similarly, Romero claims the need of a wide knowledge of history of humanity as the only means to make its evolution intelligible. He affirms that

'it is, therefore, indispensable that education in history embraces universal history: there is no other possible way to assure us the reception of the rhythms to which the human being has moved'¹⁹.

He would spend part of his work investigating the origins and evolution of that same civilization, using retrospective methodology. As he affirmed in the foreword of one of his main work about the development of the Western bourgeois society, 'although at first sight it studies a distant time, this book has been designed to understand the present, or even better, the dark historical process in which it is elaborated and which constitutes the situation of our time'²⁰. Romero uncovers his notion of 'historical life' as a function of historical process. He defines historical life as a temporary structure that dialectically works:

'Historical life is something absolutely objective and it constitutes the topic of historical science [...]. Man is a historical animal; he does things and he resolves them in favour or against what he did, cutting or believing to cut his relationships with the past, because historical life is a dialectical life, between past or present or, if one prefers, between the creation already created and the creation that is being creating. But in any case one cannot escape from history. Man doesn't exist without a past'²¹.

In 1942, Romero obtains his first position at the University of La Plata, where he was appointed professor of 'History of historiography', a post that he would occupy up to 1946. Until then, he had worked in different activities, among them, as professor of the Liceo Militar of Argentina, a post he occupied for seven years. At this stage, Romero's first major works specifically on the Middle Ages were published. Prior to this publication, he had written a couple of reviews linked to the Middle Ages. In 1943, he presented his analysis about Niccolo Machiavelli's thought²², which he considered a 'way of under-

18. J. L. Romero, 'La formación histórica', p. 50.

19. *Ibidem*, p. 53.

20. José Luis Romero, *La revolución burguesa en el mundo feudal* (Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1967), p. 9.

21. *Conversaciones*, p. 145.

22. *Maquiavelo historiador*, Buenos Aires, 1943.

standing the processes of human societies, which still feeds contemporary historiography; it was sustained by the concept of immanence, empirism and the objective reality of things'²³. In that essay — as it was pointed out by another of its commentators —, Romero would be 'perhaps unconscious that he himself would reissue in his existence, with an intellectual accent, the contradiction that he highlighted in the Florentine between understanding of the historical and politics normatives'²⁴. Whether this criticism is true or not, it does not alter Romero's innovative feature. All his biographers agree that he was a forerunner in his search of a comprehensive social history that related specific facts to the understanding of extensive processes, amidst changing interests, which would later be spread by the people of the *école des Annales*. At the same time Romero's examination of Machiavellian thought was a tool he would use to oppose the historiographic pattern of the New Argentinean School, which I have mentioned earlier. Indeed, although 'the florentine had enthroned autonomy and the historical supremacy of the political fact — a feature that seemed to be characteristic of this school —, at the same time, he had established an explanation of the facts (from the past) exclusively based on the desires, the aspirations and the fears of men'²⁵. In such a way, Romero introduces a dichotomy that will persist in all his works. This dichotomy consists in the opposition between reality and the mental perception of the real thing, 'the irreconcilable tension among the settled down, the formal and the thriving, the creative thing'²⁶. As Romero himself would say, 'I believe that the historical dynamics is a game between reality and ideas, which are many and different, which are interpretations of reality and at the same time, utopian or feasible project to change it'²⁷. Similarly, he also indicated that 'a society combines elements of reality and elements of mentality'²⁸. It is a conception of deep German influence (specifically, developed by George Simmel) and a 'morphology of goethian root'²⁹, in which Romero always

23. J. E. Burucúa, 'José Luis Romero y las perspectivas de la época moderna', *Anales de historia antigua y medieval*, 28 (1995), 25-36 (the quote in p. 33).

24. J. E. Burucúa, 'Treinta años de historiografía moderna en la Argentina: enfoques culturalistas', in *Historiografía argentina (1958-1988). Una evaluación crítica de la producción histórica argentina*, ed. by Comité Internacional de Ciencias Históricas. Comité Argentino (Buenos Aires: Comité argentino de ciencias históricas, 1990), p. 389-402 (the quote in p. 390).

25. J. E. Burucúa, 'José Luis Romero', p. 33.

26. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 22.

27. *Conversaciones*, p. 103.

28. *Ibidem*, p. 169.

29. The expression is of O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 21.

claimed to be inspired by. He pointed out a few times that one of the works that had had the strongest influence on his thought had been Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, whom he described as 'one of the pillars of the bourgeois conception of reality'³⁰.

A year after the publication of Romero's *Maquiavelo*, he finished two other works on medieval history. They were studies that had a marked link with Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, a historian whom Romero deeply respected despite the differences in their approach to historiography. In 1944 Sánchez-Albornoz launched the *Cuadernos de historia de España*, a magazine that would be a long survival. In fact, in the first volume of this publication, Romero would contribute with two articles: a Spanish translation of the *History of the Vandals and the Suevi* by St. Isidore and, together with it, an article entitled 'La biografía española del siglo XV y los ideales de vida'³¹. This last one is based on the works of Pérez de Ayala, Díez de Games and Hernando del Pulgar and in this article Romero discusses how the paradigm of the Italian biography of the 14th and 15th centuries arrived in Spain and how these paradigms adapted to 'the old ideals of life and the new forms of historiography'. With a magnificent comparative approach, our author shows that the paradigm could not be accepted without shades by the Hispanic culture, since the statement of the individuality was not noticed in it in a period of crisis (like it was the italic one). On the contrary, the Spanish biographical genre of the 15th century only expressed the consolidation of the archetypical way of living of noblemen and clergymen, testifying 'how the medieval structures survive and which is the worth that social conscience grants to those renovated forms of life'³² (that they were already imposed in Italy and were just sketched in Spain). Anyhow, in this work Romero begins to make reference to the need of recovering Spanish culture as a part of the Argentinean culture itself. This idea would become another pillar of his thought. As he himself had admitted, 'I completely claim the Spanish history and culture for the Argentineans. The Archpriest, *La Celestina*, the *Quijote*, the picaresque genre, Calderón and Quevedo are absolutely mine, so much mine as of the Spaniards. I do not recognize their exclusivity just because they are from the other side of the sea.

30. *Conversaciones*, p. 121. Romero had already mentioned Goethe in the foreword of his book *La revolución burguesa en el mundo feudal*, p. 11, when saying that his analysis of this revolution owed to the *Encyclopedia* and the *Wilhelm Meister* itself.

31. The first one is in p. 289-297 and the second in p. 115-138. Most of Romero's studies dedicated to the Middle Ages were gathered in the work *¿Quién es el burgués? y otros estudios de historia medieval* (Buenos Aires: Centro editor de América Latina, 1984).

32. J. L. Romero, 'Sobre la biografía española', p. 138.

But if the Archpriest, *La Celestina*, the *Quijote* and the picaresque genre and Velázquez are mine, how could the whole culture of the place where Spain is just an enclave not be mine...? Spain is Europe: if Spain is mine, Europe is mine....³³.

Romero and Argentinean politics

Juan Domingo Peron's rise to power in 1945 was the cue for Romero to awaken his political activity. In that same year he broke his until then mild political engagement and joined the Socialist party. He claimed it to be the only party capable of raising the flag of socialist democracy, without abandoning none of their fundamental ideas about the production of goods, but maintaining at the same time, the conquests that it considers decisive in the terrain of individual freedom (...) only a socialist democracy can offer a positive solution to the alternative of demagoguery and autocracy³⁴. Also, he was suspicious of the traditional political parties—the radicals and the conservatives—, as well as of Communism, whose direction was uncertain for him. Lastly, the advance of the peronism imposes him such a political definition, in a closing declaration of principles that he makes known in a book on Argentinean history that appears in 1946: 'The historian has a debt with the present life that he can only pay with the currency of his truth [...] the author believes that, at this point, he is ready to admit his passion, at least to let the reader trust in his attempt to silence till that moment and, maybe, to offer him the key of what can be his involuntary and passionate error in this exam'³⁵.

It was impossible for Romero to sympathize with Peron's ideology, which he later would denounce as a simple situation and not as a crucial landmark in Argentinean history. He claimed that

'Perón is a leaf in the wind. I consider that the work of Perón is a total failure [...] he did not guide the process at all; the process overcame him [...] he did not give to the social sectors that surrounded him the appropriate interpretation for that process of which he was the main character'³⁶.

33. *Conversaciones*, p. 93.

34. J. L. Romero, *Las ideas políticas en la Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1946, repr. 1946), p. 297.

35. *Ibidem*.

36. *Conversaciones*, p. 125.

Undoubtedly, this was the worst criticism that Romero could imagine for a political leader: his incompetence to set a program of ideas. Romero's biographers unanimously agree that he showed himself as an authentic 'progressive elitist', although they qualify this term in two ways. On the one hand Romero's elitism 'should be carefully distinguished from a justification of inequality' and, on the other hand, the fact that Romero 'thought in terms of the 'freedom of the ancients', that is, in the conformation of an active political and participative community'³⁷. Aware of that attitude, Romero would define the elites as 'a functional group that rationalizes the generic and disperse tendencies in the community. Without them, mass action is contradictory and ineffective'³⁸.

Romero's confrontational attitude led him to a voluntary exile. He gave up his post as professor in 1946, and in 1949, he took up a post at the University of the Republic, in Uruguay, where he worked up to 1953, travelling regularly to dictate his classes³⁹. Nevertheless, those same years would be of intense research activity, giving to know a series of works relative to the Middle Ages. Among the works of these years stands out a brief article entitled 'El patetismo en la concepción medieval de la vida,' published in Venezuela⁴⁰. In this work, Romero discusses the opposition between the world of ideas and the world of facts. He also demonstrates how different traditions –Stoic, Judeo-Christian and Celtic– united in the configuration 'of a conception of life that is strongly characterized by the pathetic thing'. Within that framework, 'the medieval man does not only adopt the typical Christian attitude facing pain, but at the same time, he knows and he sometimes prefers others coming from the diverse traditions that survive (in the West). In such a way (...), the Middle Ages shows its plural and diverse nature...' ⁴¹. The work is a magnificent mirror of the antinomy pain-hope, which was perfectly comprehensible in the thought of

37. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 46.

38. *Conversaciones*, p. 166.

39. A detail of the performance of Romero in Uruguay can be seen in C. Zubillaga, 'La significación de José Luis Romero en el desarrollo de la historiografía uruguaya', in *La historiografía argentina en el siglo XX*, ed. by F. Devoto (Buenos Aires: Centro editor de América Latina, 1994), t. II, p. 132-147. Romero was hired starting in 1949 to give the courses of 'Introduction to the historical studies' and 'Philosophy of History'. In 1950, it was added to them the 'Contemporary History'. Since 1951, he was also responsible for a 'Seminar of History of the Culture', true center of professional formation of the Uruguayan student body of that period.

40. Edited in the *Revista nacional de cultura*, nro. 64 (1947) –repr. *¿Quién es el burgués?...*, p. 49-56 (ed. that will be mentioned in this work)–.

41. *Ibidem*, p. 52.

a person who, like Romero, was marginalized in the academic world, and who became a critical observer of the evolution of Argentinean society in the era of Peronism. The work can also be understood as an example of Romero's 'moralist' tendency, which some have pointed out in our author's thought. This 'moralist' tendency, made of both 'stoic' and 'hedonist' vein, and a mediterranean spirit⁴², will become more patent in his subsequent studies about the bourgeois mentality.

Another outstanding work in these exile years was an article entitled 'San Isidoro of Sevilla, su pensamiento históricopolítico y sus relaciones con la historia visigoda'⁴³. It was published in *Cuadernos de historia de España*, undoubtedly under the auspices of Sánchez-Albornoz⁴⁴. It is a long essay that it is not often considered in the works about Romero, although it is an excellent study of what today is called the 'new political history'. In this essay, like in his *Maquiavelio*, Romero draws attention to the 'historian and statesman Isidore'—which essentially Saint Isidore was⁴⁵—, and he situates him within the evolution of historical events in the Iberian Peninsula in the Gothic era. Undoubtedly, his interest for the figure of the Sevillian saint resides in his statement that 'the Visigoths were more capable than other peoples [of the time to favour] the development of culture'⁴⁶. The key concepts of the Romerian thought stand out again. But there is another methodological postulate, which Romero understands as basic feature of Isidorian ideology: the opposition he thinks there is between 'the universal conception in the spiritual realm, i.e. the faith, the knowledge, in a sense, of culture, and the regional or maybe national conception that is noticeable in the interpretation of his-

42. T. Halperín Donghi, 'José Luis Romero', p. 261

43. Published in the vol. VIII (1947), p. 5-71 of that publication and repr. in *¿Quién es el burgués?*, p. 77-125.

44. Romero carried out a consideration of the work of Sánchez-Albornoz in Argentina in a brief note that appeared in *Cuadernos americanos* of México, year VI, vol. XXXI (1947), p. 211-217. In that, he points out the scarce insert that the investigation of medieval history has, in the South American country, justify due to the fact that 'the historical studies were developed in Argentina since the national Organization (1853) and they have conserved as ineffaceable sign of that origin an almost excluding concern for the problems of the nationality' (p. 211). Because of that, he reaffirms the necessity to deepen those studies for then 'narrow relationship with the process of American colonization' and he considers that should be appreciated to the Spanish erudite 'having opened a path for which could be arrived to important learnings about our own history and our own culture' (p. 217).

45. Romero, 'San Isidoro de Sevilla', p. 33 of the first edition.

46. *Ibidem*, p. 36.

toric-political facts'⁴⁷. Romero, in a way, reflects his own journey as a historian in the shifts of St. Isidore's thought from the Roman past to his Visigothic present reality. Similarly, Romero moves from one broad paradigm of the Western culture, to his specific American-Argentinean reality, which forms part of the former structure.

The years 1949-1950 are another turning point in Romero's career as a medievalist. At this time he published two articles whose titles underline again those two notions already mentioned of his thought: the concepts of crisis and bourgeoisie⁴⁸. In these two articles, Romero revisited his previous concern on the issue of transformation of the bourgeois values of his time by seeking the origin of those values and the early objections to them. As he later affirmed, 'the bourgeoisie is the issue, my topic: the urban bourgeoisies and the cities. I think it is a very nurtured line and (very) important as well. Because the line of feudalism impacts much less on the development of the modern world; the line of the bourgeois, instead, is the line of the modern world'⁴⁹. Simultaneous to these articles was the publication of Romero's book, *El ciclo de las revoluciones contemporáneas*, where he analyzes the end of that same bourgeois trajectory, its disappearance caused by crisis that arose from the Second World War. The outcome of this war, 'in Romero's opinion, supposes the entrance into a postbourgeoisie stage'. It was an outcome wherein the Fascist regimes, 'supreme defense of the bourgeois order', fulfilled the function of 'mining from inside that order [...], teaching in all ways the vast masses the horror of bourgeois ideals'⁵⁰. In response to a request, Romero wrote a brief summary that was published together with his book and that eventually will become a book in itself, emblematic for its eloquent expression of Romero's thought, and for its wide distribution. *La edad media*, a magnificent summary of the political history of the Middle Ages, was also an effective medium for showing Romero's gifts of synthesis as well as his narrative didactics⁵¹. This book features characterizations of the bourgeoisie that have become paradigmatic in Romerian thought. These characterizations define the

47. *Ibidem*, p. 54.

48. It is the studies 'Dante Alighieri y el análisis de la crisis medieval', *Revista de la Universidad de Colombia*, 16 (1950) and 'El espíritu burgués y la crisis bajomedieval', *Revista de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias*, 6 (1950) – published in Montevideo, where Romero already acted as professor–.

49. *Conversaciones*, p. 66 (underlined in the original).

50. T. Halperin Donghi, 'José Luis Romero', p. 263.

51. First published in 1949 by Fondo de Cultura Económica de México, it was reprinted in 1956, 1961, 1965, 1966, 1969, 1974, 1977, 1979, 1982, 1985, 1989, 1994, 1995 and 1997.

bourgeoisie as a social class using a series of identifying notions: its 'strongly naturalistic' sense of existence; a certain enjoyment of life; individualism; scientific empiricism; and the development of a national conscience⁵². Those values gradually became opposed to noble ideals of existence, causing not only conflicts but also internal adjustments, following a logic that Romero will elucidate in his later works.

Imago mundi and the history of culture

From 1953, Romero could not continue traveling to Uruguay because of the restrictions imposed by the Peronist government. Nevertheless, that same year became another landmark in his career, with the foundation of *Imago mundi: Revista de historia de la cultura*⁵³, a magazine that, although short-lived, was important in several respects. Published thanks to the financial support of a private patron, the magazine gathered specialists who were exiled from the Peronist University. These experts would play a significant role in their respective areas after the fall of Peron's regime. In the first volume of *Imago mundi*, Romero contributed an article that served as the unifying thread of all its content⁵⁴. This article threw light on Romero's idea of a 'history of culture', which he would reinforce in a second article for the magazine in 1954⁵⁵. Both studies constitute a brilliant program about the history of culture, delineated with a conceptual clarity worthy to be underlined. In his opinion, 'what we call the history of the culture is, in fact, simply history', thus he claims for it a global character, 'a complex historiographic form, an ideal outline in which several and diverse of historiography, which aspire to be integrated in a more comprehensible synthesis, fit'⁵⁶. For the same reason, the history of culture cannot be reduced to mere history of facts, although he neither excludes nor opposes them. Rather he 'looks for its meaning in other

52. See *La Edad Media*, p. 184-209 of the edition 1985. Cfr. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 105.

53. A good analysis of the reach that had this magazine can be read in O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 85-100. Cfr. D. Quattrocchi-Woison, 'Las revistas en la vida intelectual y política', in *Nueva historia de la Nación Argentina*, p. 182-183.

54. J. L. Romero, 'Reflexiones sobre la historia de la cultura', *Imago mundi*, 1 (1953). Repr. in *La vida histórica* p. 121-130 (ed. that I will mention henceforth quotes).

55. J. L. Romero, 'Cuatro observaciones sobre el punto de vista históricocultural', *Imago mundi*, 6 (1954), p. 32-37.

56. J. L. Romero, 'Reflexiones', p. 121. In order not to be plentiful in quotes, oar to our author's work for the following textual expressions that are mentioned next.

areas that are generally not factual'. With this position, Romero reaffirms his rejection of the Argentinean traditional historiographic school, while insisting on a relationship that he had pointed out in previous works: an understanding of history as the interplay of what he calls a *factual order* and a *potential order*. The factual order is 'where the facts are chained together constituting a complex of simultaneous and successive actions derived from impulses, rational or not, directed toward the action and crystallized in irrevocable objects'. The elements that make up this order are not all of the same character: some are specific and derived from a concrete action (a law, a battle, an election), while others are vague and diffuse (the coalition of social groups, the rise of prices, etc.). On the other hand, together to this factual order is the potential order, 'where are located the representations of the factual order and the ideas and ideals that the conscience creates to re-make its own representations [of that mentioned] factual order'. From the union of both spheres appears the historical life in its complexity: 'reducing this formula to simpler terms, it could be said that [the history of the culture] tries to capture the relationship that exists between ways of life and ideas – for which reason exemplary works in this field were done, not by traditional historians, but by professionals in other areas of the human sciences–. This postulate reveals, once again, the influence of the morphological German thought 'that made a difference between constituted forms and the life like creative pulsion'⁵⁷. Finally, Romero concludes that the history of culture does not have its roots in the Enlightenment of the 18th century, though he recognizes its wide contribution, but in Herodotus, since he tried to transcend the mere description of facts 'to inquire into' the secrets of the historical life of those facts from other angles.

Soon after the publication of his work, Romero polishes its boundaries and suggests that his idea on this subject should be understood in its strict sense and not as a simple manifestation of spiritual culture. His history of the culture starts from the principle that culture includes 'all that is action and

57. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 88. It is outstanding the presence that these ideas of Romero have in the modern orientations of the history of the culture. Indeed, the recent lines of investigation of this area consider that the cultural ways and the expression forms are a historical motor, an element that models the evolution of all historical fact and, therefore, a factor in the structuring of the social classes, the authority, the economic relationships, etc. –and their consequent historical transformations–. Cfr. Beatriz Moreyra, 'La historia social más allá del giro cultural: algunas reflexiones', *Interpretaciones. Revista de historiografía y ciencias sociales*, 1 (2006).

the man's creation'⁵⁸, although not everything must become object of study. It only concerns 'the analysis and interpretation of the succession of the cultural, big or small mutations, in the measure in that those mutations represent an unstable relationship among those who create the culture —the actors of the historical life— and the culture itself, as creation process and like created thing'. By defining his idea on the history of culture, Romero prophesies the future history of mentalities, ideologies and representation, among other similar fields. In other words, he defended the need of analyzing cultural changes from the facile tendency of simply describing mental structures. He suggested that the link between factual and potential spheres determines a personal intellectual attitude and a specific method. The first one demand 'to assist not so much to the peculiar development of each one of the two orders [...] but to the relationships among these orders'. The second 'is an accurate reorder of the different elements in game that allows to distinguish in them its two faces, the factual and the potential'. In other words, it was not to understand the different related factors but the articulation that was operated among all those dimensions. With this it would be understood the authentic 'historical life'. Lastly, an analysis of this type demands that who tries to carry it out, should do it without of the use of conceptual outlines previously defined. By the way, Romero doesn't deny the use of this outlines 'like work hypothesis' but 'the historian should not forget neither a second that he is not a philosopher of the history and that he should not propose *a priori* a sense for the historical life nor, in consequence, to limit his task in looking for in her the evidence to support his assertion'.

Throughout his career Romero continually matured the ideas that he had when he began his academic work. Some have observed a certain 'conservatism' in his thought, which they further qualify as 'relatively immune from short-lived intellectual tendencies'⁵⁹. More than immunity, I understand that Romero didn't want to do without key aspects of his historical conception and, fundamentally, he didn't see any reasons for it. Similarly, this original formulation of the historical life (as interlacing of facts and ideas) implies, among other things, certain opposition regarding some historiographical orientations like, for example, the historical materialism. He explicitly pointed out his recognition to Marx's thought, whom he qualified as 'the new Machiavelli', because both of them had set the background for the 'plot of

58. J. L. Romero, 'Cuatro observaciones', p. 33. The same as in the previous case, I remit to this and the remaining pp. of this work in order to not to be plentiful in quotes.

59. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 19.

history'. However, he indicated that 'Marx underestimated the role of ideas because he was obsessed with the Hegelian Idea. (I) believe, instead, that historical dynamics is a game between reality and ideas'⁶⁰. On the other hand, Romero neither believed that economics alone explained the crisis of Western civilization, both circumstances that denote that 'the Romero's Marxism is strongly coloured with Positivism'⁶¹. Whatever, this distance regarding a thought structure that, in the ideological frame of his time, could have served as interlocutor to a thinker like Romero, it has not only called the attention but it has motivated suggestions in the sense of if Romero was a not recognized Marxist⁶². It is certain that a notion of the historical evolution that underlined —as it was former indicated— certain progressive vein and his distrust of the conceptual apparatuses it could not harmonize with that Marxist thought (either or not positivist character) Romero himself indicated it clearly in his later years, when he pointed out that 'I sincerely believed that in the contemporary world, there are very few people who, in some way, are not Marxist [...] if Marxism is understood as —and this is its more valid expression— a group of principles of historical dynamics [...]. Due to such characterization of historical dynamics, Marx [...] deduced a policy for the future that he understood to be the relentless and immediate consequence of his theory. And there is where opinions are divided [...]: those who believe that the doctrine leads to an immediate revolutionary and inevitable attitude, and those who believe that from its outline appear many other possible proposals'⁶³ —between those, obviously, was his optimistic reformism, among other options—.

Apart from Marxism, the other historiographic school with which Romero could have established a conceptual dialogue was the *Annales*. Romero had

60. *Conversaciones*, p. 103.

61. T. Halperín Donghi, 'José Luis Romero', p. 260. Cfr. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 45-46.

62. T. Halperín Donghi formulated such question when he says: '...Is Romero a Marxist who ignores himself and [...] his taking of distance is mainly because he had only known a Marxism polluted of positivism? Not necessarily: without a doubt it is conceivable that, subjected to other cultural and ideological influences, Romero has used a different vocabulary to formulate his fundamental ideas about the historical reality...' —'José Luis Romero', p. 260—. Cfr. S. Bagú, 'José Luis Romero: evocación y evaluación', in *De historia e historiadores. Homenaje a José Luis Romero* (México: Siglo XXI, 1982), p. 37 —who suggests that Romero was not Marxist 'because it had never experienced the necessity to manage the economic fact in the measure and the sense that the work of Marx and Engels is characterized [...]. Neither it was Marxist without knowing it. He knew that he was not and he guessed right'—.

63. *Conversaciones*, p. 101.

already had some contact with some men from that school, in particular with Fernand Braudel, whom he had met when Braudel visited Buenos Aires, and with Ruggiero Romano. However, their contact was mostly on personal terms and was never taken further to the academic field because Romero did not owe any intellectual debt to the French school⁶⁴. This did not hinder Jacques Le Goff, an outstanding representative of *Annales*, years later could understand Romero's work as 'the most beautiful example that I know of this praised exalted global history and never carried out entirely by the French historians of *Annales*'⁶⁵. As it is, for that same time, Romero had the opportunity to develop part of his activities abroad when, in 1950, he won a Guggenheim's scholarship that allowed him to enjoy an academic demurrage of seven months in the Widener Library of the University of Harvard. This period would be later remembered by him as the time he completed one of his most celebrated works on the Middle Ages, *La revolución burguesa en el mundo feudal*⁶⁶.

The fall of the Peron's regime brought about a radical change in Romero's life. In September 1955 he was designated rector inspector of the University of Buenos Aires. The former contributors to *Imago mundi* were also appointed as normalizer deans of the different Faculties which compose that House. Romero's position as rector was a delicate one. He was caught between the conservatives, who were displaced in 1945 and who now sought to recover their old positions, and the new reformists, who wanted to enforce change⁶⁷. Both groups finally reached an agreement, not through authentic negotiation, but by imposition from the government. The sad state of affairs led to Romero's resignation in May 1956. He was discouraged by the new government policies that authorized the creation of private universities endowed with the same rights as public universities.

This entrance of Romero in the university political life went parallel to his insertion in an environment that, until then, had not had his presence: the

64. Cfr. F. Devoto, 'Los estudios históricos en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras entre dos crisis institucionales (1955-1966)', in *La historiografía argentina*, p. 50-58 (especialmente, p. 61). Cfr. C. Astarita, 'La historia social y el medievalismo argentino', *Études et travaux. Centre d'études médiévales, Auxerre*, 7 (2002-2003), 113-124 and B. Moreyra, 'La historiografía', p. 87 – who points out the linkings of Romero with the Association Marc Bloch of Argentina and the Centre de Recherches Historiques of France –.

65. J. Le Goff, 'Presentación', in J. L. Romero, *Crisis y orden en el mundo feudoburgués* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2003), p. IX.

66. *Conversaciones*, p. 90.

67. See T. Halperin Donghi, *Historia de la universidad de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1962; repr. 2002), p. 155-160.

Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the mentioned University. Such an entrance would coincide with the beginning of a permanent tension between the two sectors that, in the same Faculty, tried to impose its 'historiographic tradition'. The same as that happened in the university environment in general, two methodological lines were postulated there as winners of the Peronist régime: the heirs of the 'New Historical School' and the currents linked to the cultural history —these last ones, headed by Romero—. In fact, '1955 showed a significant specificity (although not unique) from the historiographic point of view that would condition the whole later evolution [of the discipline]: there was not a winner group [...] but two....'⁶⁸. That tension explains the fact that Romero has not obtained none of the traditional classes of the career of History but, in 1958, he assumed the teaching of the recently created subject 'General Social History'. Similarly, he was not able to be inserted in any of the institutes of investigation of the same Faculty but rather it was founded for him the 'Center of social history' —he would be the director—. Whatever, one and other would become authentic enclaves of formation for several generations of Argentinean historians who always found in them a true specialization environment and professional gathering. However, that formative character of the class and of the center was more the product of their own evolution than of a specific attitude of Romero himself. Indeed, in spite of their paradigmatic projects —especially those linked to the history of the culture—, he didn't seek to establish 'a concrete program from which to found a new form of making history [which could be opposed the one supported by the New Historical School]' but rather that program should be understood more like a 'original and own thought [about the same historical chore]'⁶⁹. It explains, as we have just pointed out, that the environments grouped around him had acted more as unifiers than as specific instructors of reformist sectors. The fact that Romero never worked explicitly to model the professional careers of his pupils proves it⁷⁰. In some people's opinion, with this attitude, Romero (even knowing that it implied the impossibility of establishing a model to follow) maintained his intellectual independence, with all the foregone consequences of this decision. On the other hand, it would

68. F. Devoto, 'Los estudios históricos', p. 50. The analysis of the insertion of Romero in this House of studies —that I'll carry out next— follows closely this author's observations, to which I refer to a detailed analysis of the problem.

69. *Ibidem*, p. 61.

70. Cfr. T. Halperín Donghi, 'Un cuarto de siglo', p. 499 — who underlines 'the scarce disposition of J. L. Romero to overturn his intellectual influence on historians and historians' apprentices'—.

also be necessary to wonder if he was convinced of the need of outlining combat to other historiographical orientations. Whatever, this new 'social history' —that officially carried out in those years—, although it was 'not the same thing that the history of the culture that he had cultivated decades ago, had not discarded anything of its capacity of understanding and to illuminate the last cultural traditions....'⁷¹.

The politics sways as well as the Argentinean university life during the cold War harass to Romero again in 1958. Then he was part (according to some, in 'a decisive way') in the division of the Socialist Party⁷², becoming a reference for certain youth sectors of that grouping. Such sectors would promote, in November 1962, his appointment as Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires —appointment which would open one of the most difficult and controversial periods of their career⁷³—. If in his brief stay in the rectorate of the University, Romero had had to balance all the groups that were disputing the inheritance of the peronism, in 1962, he should face the tensions because of radicalization of the different student and educational sectors that struggled in that moment. Another point he should make due to the Argentinean historical (and international) evolution, characterized by the emergence of the armed political fight and the Cuban revolution. Unable to manage the situation, the institutional administration of Romero felt the effect since 1964 (soon after a conflict that involved students of the Faculty who died in a guerilla confrontation in the north of the country). As result of this, in November 1965, he decided to resign the Deanship and to go into retirement of the academic life.

Romero and the medieval history

After Romero resigned from the University of Buenos Aires, he turned all his attention what he always considered his greatest project, though he left it

71. T. Halperín Donghi, 'José Luis Romero', p. 255.

72. *Ibidem*, p. 253 – where the scarce concentration of Romero to take a public career is pointed out and his failures ahead in this sense –. Cfr. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 43-83, which analyzes more carefully the difficult relationships of Romero with the dome of the Argentinean Socialist Party and his ideological differences regarding the local situation at the beginning of the 60s.

73. A detail of the situation of the Faculty in those years can be seen in P. Buchbinder, *Historia de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Eudeba, 1997), p. 207-217. Cfr. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 63-68 (which analyzes the way the Argentinean press evaluated the performance of Romero like dean at that moment).

unfinished. The project consisted in a vast analysis of the 'historical process of the Western world', which he divided in four parts: 1) *La revolución burguesa en el mundo feudal*, 2) *Crisis y orden en el mundo feudoburgués* (14th to 16th centuries), 3) *Apogeo y ruptura del mundo feudoburgués* (16th to 18th centuries), and 4) *El mundo burgués y las revoluciones antiburguesas* (18th to 20th centuries). Romero had already made use of these divisions in his brief work *La cultura occidental* (1953), in which he considered Western culture to be the fusion of Roman, Christian and German heritage⁷⁴. According to him, Western culture underwent three evolutionary moments: the era of the feudal society, the modern era and a third called 'of the revolution of the things'. 'Romero discovered different balances and persistence of legacies, processes of crises and adjustments that revitalized forgotten aspects of heritage, but that, in fact, hid, under the masks of returning to the old thing, the irruption of radically new human experiences'⁷⁵.

Romero began his project in 1965, but completed only the first volume. After Romero's death, his son published both the first volume together with the incomplete manuscript of the second one⁷⁶. These works constitute, without doubts, the most coherent of Romero's works from the theoretical point of view —as medievalist historian— and, for the same thing, those texts have been object of numerous critical analysis. Through those books, Romero is defined himself as a historian, in the way that he has found 'his' topic⁷⁷. This topic will be —as we have advanced— that one of the bourgeoisie. According to Romero, 'in fact, there are two medievalists families: those that put the emphasis in the feudal world and those that put it in the bourgeois world. I belong to the line of Henri Pirenne, and I put the emphasis in the bourgeoisie'⁷⁸. The deep influence of Luzzato, Saporì and Pirenne, are evident in Romero's work, since he recognized Pirenne as one of his mentors.

In favor of understanding the crisis of the feudal world as a result of the hit of that exogenous factor, the bourgeois, Romero defined it 'less for his function in the market economy than for the social content of its experiences and practices'⁷⁹. As early as in 1954, Romero had already written a brief article where he wondered who the bourgeois is? and he suggested that a bourgeois

74. J. L. Romero, *La cultura occidental* (Buenos Aires: Columba, 1953).

75. J. E. Burucúa, 'José Luis Romero', p. 27.

76. See the 'Advertencia' of Luis Alberto Romero to the edition of the year 2003 of his father's work, *Crisis y orden en el mundo feudoburgués*, p. V-VI.

77. *Conversaciones*, p. 22.

78. *Ibidem*, p. 65.

79. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 105.

should be characterized as the one who looks for his reason of being in the control of the immediate reality —assuming that that reality ‘constitutes the supreme well’⁸⁰—. Such an attitude will take to this new man to try to control the nature, to develop certain economic activity and to outline a ‘realistic’ posture in front of the world. Certainly, that pattern should be understood —continues saying Romero— as an ‘ideal type’ more than like a real one (all in all he recaptures his basic postulate about the dichotomy factual order-potential order). For the same time, our author considered that that new bourgeois model (to which he described as ‘spirit’) had as distinctive point the presence of a sensitive nature (that will allow the rise of the magic, the astrology and the alchemy), the dissident spirit (the man as a participant of that nature and consecrated to an earthly destination), the mundane enjoyment, the manual work, the emergence in new ways of coexistence, the despersonalization of the power and an original dynamics of the history (that he figured out from the ideas of Joaquín de Fiore)⁸¹.

In *La sociedad burguesa en el mundo feudal*, Romero recaptures those postulates, outlining this problem specifically in the frame what now he calls a ‘mentality’ and leaving aside that idea of ‘spirit’ (without a doubt, influenced by the French historiography of the moment). Indeed, the book includes two big sections, where the author analyzes, firstly, the characteristics of what he denominates ‘the Christian-feudal world’, identifiable for the existent of a weak, urban mesh, the political fragmentation, the prevalence of the rural economy and a Christian-feudal mentality. That system will get a relative stability thanks to the association that is forged between the aristocracies and the Church (the only power that could develop a long term proposal in Europe by that time)⁸². Nevertheless, that scaffolding will begin to turn cracked since the 11th century, with the birth of the bourgeoisie, circumstance that will give place to the so called ‘feudal-bourgeois world’. Such a modification, according to the author, was very slow, ‘decomposing the traditional system without destroying it, altering the sense in certain activity ways, promoting a new life-style [...]’. The result of the game of the resistances and concessions was that

80. J. L. Romero, ‘¿Quién es el burgués?’, edited firstly in *El Nacional*, Caracas, 18 March 1954 and repr. in his book *¿Quién es el burgués?*, p. 34-38 (the quote in p. 38 of this last edition).

81. J. L. Romero, ‘Burguesía y espíritu burgués’, published in *Cahiers d’histoire mondiale*, II (1954) and repr. in *Ensayos sobre la burguesía medieval* (Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires, 1961) and *¿Quién es el burgués?*, p. 39-48.

82. Topic on that insists A. Guérreau in his analysis of the work of Romero. See *El feudalismo. Un horizonte teórico* (Barcelona: Crítica, 1984), p. 107-108.

new transactional classification that I call feudal-bourgeois⁸³. Once again, Romero appeals to the underlined logic between real order and potential order, estimating that the existent dynamics should be analyzed between, on one hand, the fact situations and, on the other hand, the ideas, beliefs and images elaborated by the men of the time. In such a sense, this book —as it has been well underlined by one of his biographers— outlines the game between the individual and the social, in the way that, if the notions created by a certain thinker could ‘impregnate’ to an entire human group, would be ended up formulating ‘divergent images of the reality’ that would finish changing the whole consolidated historical system⁸⁴. In short, that tension would have arise with the emergence of the cities like a space of renovating mentalities, able to implement a logic of a different life to the feudal one. During long time, such a logic tried to coexist with their predecessor —giving place to this feudal-bourgeois context— until finally it was imposed on her. That imposition was summed up (among other things) when the individual was affirmed as a human being not exclusively dependent of an unalterable order but able to enjoy his own autonomy —thesis that returns on the topic of the control of the reality by the bourgeois, that he advanced in 1954—. Summing up, Romero shows a confrontation between conceptions that it is captured in a series of opposed couples⁸⁵. These face, among other things, the immutability of the reality to the possibility of changing it, the foundation in the beyond Earth to the effectiveness of the sensitive order, the primacy of the social to the individual’s freedom, the providence at random, the fortune to the adventure, the spirituality to the sensuality, the immediacy of the death to the possibility of earthly enjoyment, the stability of the social groups to the social mobility. All this, clearly, presupposed that the feudal order was immobile in itself and that it could only be changed in some way thanks to an external factor as the new bourgeois world. Was, whose characteristic environment of expression would be the cities —topic which has been appropriately interpreted in the framework of the polemics on the crisis of the feudal system in the 20th century⁸⁶—. Romero knew how to articulate an original interpretation of the long process that goes from the 11th to the 14th century, presenting

83. J. L. Romero, *La revolución burguesa...*, p. 15.

84. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 110.

85. I continue in this the proposal of O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 115 who offers an accurate synthesis of the postures of Romero.

86. Cfr. C. Astarita y M. Inchausti, ‘José Luis Romero y la historia medieval’, *Anales de historia antigua y medieval*, 28 (1995), 15-23 and, of the former author, his ‘Estudio preliminar’ to the Romero’s book, *Crisis y orden en el mundo feudoburgués* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI,

it as an interaction between conceptual couples, 'such as balance/imbalance, coherent/in desintegration, close/open'⁸⁷.

This work, first part of the mentioned fourth-part plan proposed by Romero, would be continued in 1980, when *Crisis y orden en el mundo feudo-burgués* was published, text reconstructed starting from the already elaborated sections by Romero himself. In it, the schemes (proposed in the previous book) are deepened, taking into account three aspects: the economic one —where it is developed the topic of the emergence and consolidation of the market economy—, the politic —that considers the crisis of the orders imposed by the Empire and the Papacy and their displacement by the new models elaborated by the cities and the States⁸⁸— and, lastly, the new ways of life. The work contemplated a fourth part on 'prefiguration of the bourgeois world', where Romero would have been researching about the changes in the mentalities happened at the end of the Middle Age⁸⁹. Whatever, in this book Romero returns to the opposition feudal world-bourgeois world —understanding as bourgeois, once again, the complex urban structure—. In particular, he considers the many different intents developed by that bourgeoisie to occupy and to consolidate itself in the power, circumstance that provoke as much tensions as agreements with the until that moment dominant groups. In this case, also, the analysis of Romero postulates a principle that was equally refuted by the later critic, that one which understood that the centralized monarchy 'would have been affirmed as arbitrator among the classes, leaning on to gain that self-determination in the resources contributed by the bourgeoisie'⁹⁰. Nevertheless, the work analyses what was the way in which different social groups (old aristocracy, patricians, urban sectors in ascent, peasants) adapted or succumbed to the changes happened since the 15th century. Specially, Romero was interested in demonstrate how that bourgeois 'spirit' —whose birth and first development considered in his previous work— transcended to the group that produced it, this is, the bourgeoisie. Due to this,

2003), p. XIII-XXXI (where it recaptures the concepts developed in the former mentioned work).

87. Guerrau, *El feudalismo*, p. 107.

88. As well Le Goff points out, Romero doesn't use the idea of 'nations' —'Presentation', p. IX—.

89. See the 'Advertencia' to the ed. of *Crisis y orden...*, cit. in quote 65. According to his son, this last part should include the chapters 'The change and the image of the reality', 'The popular mentality', 'The renovating mentality', 'The projections of the renovating mentality' and 'The conflict of mentalities'.

90. C. Astarita, 'Estudio preliminar', p. XV.

'the challenge for the historian [it is] to reconstruct the diffusion process from the bourgeois mentality to other classes, because there [it is] his 'revolutionary' condition'⁹¹. Particularly, one of the elements that transcend that bourgeois mentality is the same factor that promoted it: the creation of cities. This attitude will be soon assumed, especially, for the growing monarchies, reason why the foundation of urban nucleus 'left to be a spontaneous creation of the bourgeoisies and became a political and economic instrument that as early as the 12th century kings and gentlemen began to introduce'⁹². This way, Romero brought forward (one year before his death) the book that would be his last one, a work that —even though it doesn't specifically concern to the Middle Age— tried to introduce that medieval structure to the American continent: *Latinoamérica: las ciudades y las ideas*. Those cities of the New world won't be more than the continuation of the European culture, the tool to organise a virgin space, to assure the possession of the land and to spread ideological values (in this case, not spontaneously arisen —like in the cities of the 11th-12th centuries— but imposed by the colonial authorities)⁹³.

After the publication of this last book —and while he continued with the writing of the remaining ones already mentioned—, in 1975 Romero was designated member of the Council of Universities, created by the United Nations. Such an organism would summon him to a meeting to take place in Tokyo in 1977. In those circumstances —and while he was in that Japanese city—, the death surprised him 27th February of that year.

In the interview —mentioned several times, which was carried out at the end of his life—, Romero was asked about which was the sense of making medieval history in the Argentina. His answer was conclusive: 'I lean to believe that only the medievalists [understand the Argentinean historical processes well]. I don't deny that other people also understand it but I have the impression that my specialty has helped me vastly, it has offered me clues, it has indicated me development lines'⁹⁴. With this attitude, Romero insisted in his conviction that the history serves in the way in that it helps to find the hidden reasons of the past that explain the present. And that search should have an own morals: 'nothing is despicable, neither nothing is condemnable

91. O. Acha, *La trama profunda*, p. 117.

92. *Conversaciones*, p. 45.

93. Cfr. R. Gutiérrez Girardot, 'Sobre el problema de la definición de América. Notas sobre la obra de José Luis Romero', in *De historia e historiadores*, p. 85-94 —who carries out the comparison between this work of Romero and his *Revolución burguesa en el mundo feudal*—.

94. *Conversaciones*, p. 65.

because [the historians] are not gods and mainly we have seen the turns of the human reason'⁹⁵. Apart from this, he also considered that those historical knowledge should be given to the whole society in a clear and didactic way, pointing out that 'it cannot be possible that the historians only write for the historians'⁹⁶. Both opinions reveal, once again, the clarity of ideas of Romero and his will of helping to the contemporary society to understand its own present. Undoubtedly, it was a singular character, 'an omnivorous mind, of great avidity and restlessness'⁹⁷.

His ideas, his projection and his legacy clearly proves those principles that were always accompanied by a coherent behavior and an independence of prominent thought. After all, in all his life, he didn't make more than to respect what he imagined as motto for his possible shield: it was a man of an *obstinate rigor*⁹⁸.

Cronology

- 1909 – He is born in Buenos Aires.
- 1929 – Starts his university formation in the area of history at the National University of La Plata.
- 1937 – He obtains his doctor's degree at the same university.
- 1945 – He starts his acting in the Argentine Socialist Party.
- 1946 – After Juan D. Perón's rise to the presidency of Argentina, he resigns his charge of Professor at the National University of La Plata.
- 1947 – He is designed professor at the University of the Republic, Uruguay.
- 1955 – He is designed rector inspector in the University of Buenos Aires.
- 1958 – He is designed professor of 'Social History' and 'Medieval History' in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires, and director of the Center of Studies of Social History in the same Facult, both of them created that year.
- 1962 – He is designed Dean of the mentioned Faculty.
- 1965 – He resigns his Deanship and retires.
- 1977 – He dies in Japan.

95. *Ibidem*, p. 135.

96. *Ibidem*, p. 133.

97. N. Guglielmi, 'José Luis Romero y la historia medieval', in *Historiografía argentina*, p. 264-273. The quote in p. 265.

98. *Conversaciones*, p. 134.

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Fritz Kern (1884 – 1950)

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It is said that there is no other History apart from Biographies, for, as Ortega would affirm, «*Yo soy yo y mi circunstancia*» (“*I am only what I am and my circumstance*”).¹ Both considerations may apply to the main character of this essay.² Fritz Kern was born in Stuttgart on September 28, 1884, and died in Mainz on May 21, 1950. The Kerns were a family of elite bureaucrats of Württemberg. Their presence in the public life of that small southern state was notable. Kern’s father, Hermann von Kern (1854-1932) was a doctor in Philosophy and he held various relevant posts both in the *Land* government as minister for ecclesiastical and educational affairs (*Minister für Kirchen- und Schulwesen*) and within the judiciary (at the administrative tribunal, in the State council and *Mitglieder der I. Kammer*). His grandfather, Max (1813-1887), had been president of the *Oberlandesgericht*. Undoubtedly, there was a remarkable judicial tradition in his family as well as a clear judicial bent in him. On his mother’s side, Marie (1860-1944), his grandfather Ludwig von Hufnagel (1825-1900) had been the president of the Senate. Consequently, the circle of fate seemed to close around the little Fritz, caught between his two most important passions and activities, which he would be able to study from a historical perspective. Law, on one side, and Politics, on the other, seemed to mark our protagonist’s professional career. Following the path

* This essay was translated from Spanish in collaboration with María José Huertas Jiménez.

1. José Ortega y Gasset, *Meditaciones del Quijote* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 7ª ed, 2001), p. 25.

2. The biographical data are taken from the following publications: *Biographisches Wörterbuch zur deutschen Geschichte*, 2nd ed. (München: Francke Verlag, 1974), II, cols 1475-1476; *Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Herausgegeben von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, Berlin, 1977). XI, pp. 519-520; and *Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie (DBE)*, Herausgegeben von Walter Killy und Rudolf Vierhaus (München: K. G. Saur, 1997), V, p. 511. His daughter Liselotte Kern published a very subjective view of Kern’s life in *Fritz Kern, 1884-1950. Universalhistoriker und Philosoph*. Accademia Bonniensis, Band 6 (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1980). The most detailed study belongs to Schillings, O., *Vom Bourgeois zum Citoyen. Fritz Kern zwischen den Lebenswelten Politik und Wissenschaft* (Münster: Verlaghaus Monsenstein und Vannerdat, 2001). In this work we find, pp. 279-288, a complete bibliographical list of Fritz Kern, to which we make reference. We will only mention here those works which, according to us, are most relevant to the History of Law.

opened by his ancestors, Fritz Kern started his studies in Law at the University of Lausanne, where he spent two semesters, and then moved to Berlin where he studied History during six more semesters. Both passions were actually combined in his education.

In Berlin he contacted his two mentors: Karl Zeumer³ and Georg Von Below⁴. The former introduced Fritz Kern to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, hence to the obsession about discovering, purging and publishing documents dated on the High Middle Ages. The latter inculcated in Kern the interest which would finally determine his professional vocation and his specialization: Comparative History of Law and Politics. In Berlin he obtained his degree at the age of twenty-two. Only two and a half years later he qualified as a *Privatdozent* of History in Kiel, the first stage of his work at the university, with his essay *Grundlagen der französischen Ausdehnungspolitik* published one year later⁵. It was precisely in 1909, and also in Berlin, when he married Bertha, a daughter of the philosopher Eduard von Hartmann. His marriage ended in 1941 and they had a son and two daughters.

During those first years at the university, Fritz Kern followed the path traced by Zeumer, concentrating on medieval documents, on the sources in a broad sense, making an effort to present all this material and eventually publishing his first work of certain significance⁶. Under the guidance of Zeumer, Fritz Kern collaborated in some volume of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, namely in the *Sectio Legum IV, volumen VIII*. Shortly after that, he combined his two mentors' demands by editing the medieval imperial documentation referred to the connections between France, England and the Empire. This work was mainly edited and written in Kiel, although relevant intellectuals of that time, such as Panella and Solmi, collaborated from Italy.

3. Fritz Kern paid homage to Zeumer in his work entitled: "Karls IV. Kaiserlager vor Rom", *Historische Aufsätze. Karl Zeumer zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag als Festgabe dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern* (Weimar: Hermann Bohlhaus Nachfolger, 1910), pp. 385-395. He also wrote Zeumer's obituary in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, 113 (1914), pp. 540-558.

4. Kern also honoured Von Below in his article: "Der deutsche Staat und die Politik der Römerzuges", en *Aus Politik und Geschichte. Gedächtnisschrift für Georg von Below* (Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1928), pp. 32-74.

5. *Grundlagen der französischen Ausdehnungspolitik*. Habilitationsschrift (Leipzig: Druck von J. B. Hirschfeld, 1910). The same year a longer version appeared: *Die Anfänge der französischen Ausdehnungspolitik bis zum Jahr 1308* (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1910).

6. We talk about *Dorsuallkonzept und Imbreviatur. Zur Geschichte der Notariatsurkunde in Italien* (Stuttgart: Druck und Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1906). Incidentally, this work is dedicated to Zeumer.

It was an expansion of Kern's essay: *Grundlagen der französischen Ausdehnungspolitik*⁷. In 1915, as a result of his determination to diffuse History and to arouse interest in it, Kern published, having one of his disciples from Kiel, Hans Heinrich Schäder, as a collaborator, a selection of some texts written by medieval historians (from Eusebio of Cesarea to Regino of Prüm) within the collection *Sources for the History of Germany*⁸. The outcome was a didactic manual, where the sources were principally shown to explain how History was written during those medieval years (highlighting the value of Patristics) and not only to explain what History was.

This new work was the product of an important effort to synthesize and choose within the various passages commonly found in historiography those which allowed the comprehension of how History was related during the first times of the early Middle Ages, as well as the sense, objective and direction of the said narrative. By doing so, their manual captured the evolution of literature, from the writings of Church Fathers, with their characteristic tendency towards universality, to the growing appearance of local and national historians. These historians focused on the origins and development of each particular Germanic people, looking for links with the mythification of their remote pasts in an effort to turn them into a summary of all virtues. The initial voices of Saint Jerome, Saint Augustine of Hippo, Paulus Orosius or Salvianus, were followed by those of Jordanes, Saint Gregory of Tours, Saint Isidore of Seville, Fredegar, the Venerable Bede, Paul the Deacon, the lives of saints, various Annals and Gests, even poems and songs, all of which lead us to the central years of the Middle Age.

At the same time, Kern started publishing in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, where his most famous works appeared. In this publication he sought a clear and direct line: the medieval political History, the roots of political thought, starting with an essay which was published in 1910 in the mentioned journal⁹.

7. *Acta Imperii Angliae et Franciae ab A. 1267 ad A. 1313*. Dokumente Vernehmlich zur Geschichte der auswärtigen Beziehungen Deutschlands. Herausgegeben von Fritz Kern (Tübingen: In Commission bei J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1911).

8. *Quellen zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen Geschichtsschreibung. 1. Geschichtsschreiber des frühen Mittelalters (Von Eusebius bis zu Regino von Prüm)*. Quellensammlung zur deutschen Geschichte. Herausgegeben von E. Brandenburg und G. Seelicher (Leipzig / Berlin, Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1915).

9. "Die Reichsgewalt der deutschen Könige nach dem Interregnum. Zeitgenössische Theorien", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 106 (1910), 39-95 (which was published in a new edition by the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1959). After this work he wrote the following

In 1914 his first book appeared: *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie*, precisely on the collection of Medieval Studies edited by himself. This work represents his first foray on the construction of his own discourse in historiography, which focused, just as he has already announced, on the medieval political History and the enthralling subject of the right to resist tyranny conceived as the ultimate defence mechanism against tyrants¹⁰. During his last two years in Kiel, Kern made his two principal contributions to the History of Culture, having Dante Alighieri as the main character of both works¹¹.

Fritz Kern stayed in Kiel until 1914, when he was called to teach Medieval and Modern History at the recently inaugurated University of Frankfurt am Main. His most relevant works were written during this period and they were all published in the *Historische Zeitschrift*. From Frankfurt he moved, eight years later, in 1922, to the University of Bonn, where he held his last post and where he finally retired in 1947. Although he had always worked on the same discipline, later in his life he shifted his interest from the study of local and individual thought to a history that is universally conceived. So his teaching and his most select scientific works prove this change. The First World War meant a sudden stop of his activity in every field. He was called up from Berlin for working at the Foreign Affairs Office and at the Headquarters of the Army, under the direct command of Admiral Tirpitz (first between 1918 and 1919 and again between 1924 and 1926).

During this time Kern made his debut not only as a military man but also as a journalist in the Berliner *Grenzboten*, between 1920 and 1921. During the 1930's, as a commentator on politics, he became concerned about the boost of the National Socialist Party and, meanwhile, he supported a political way out, *i.e.* based upon dialogue, for the territorial disputes held with France and Poland. This concern was noticeable in his subsequent publications, such as one inserted in a series of conferences about the causes, effects and conse-

articles: "Der mittelalterliche Deutsche in französischer Ansicht", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 108 (1912), 237-254; "Über die mittelalterliche Anschauung vom Recht", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 115 (1916), 496-515; and "Recht und Verfassung im Mittelalter", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 120 (1919), 1-79, published in form of a book with later editions in 1952 and 1965.

10. *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie. Mittelalterliche Studien*. Herausgegeben von Fritz Kern. Band 1, Heft, 2. (Leipzig: Verlag von R. F. Koehler, 1914), with later editions in 1954 and in 1973.

11. *Humana Civilitas (Staat, Kirche und Kultur). Ein Dante-Untersuchung* (Leipzig: Verlag von R. F. Koehler, 1913); y *Dante. Vier Verträge zur Einführung in die Göttliche Komödie* (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1914).

quences of the war in the Ruhr¹², and it also led him to edit, along with his disciple Hans Hallmann, the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der nachbismarckischen Zeit und des Weltkriegs*, which consisted of 45 works published between the years 1927 and 1940 by the publishing house of M. Kohlhammer, from Stuttgart.

When the Nazis assumed power in Germany he felt tired and defeated, which explains the internal exile he lived from 1933 onwards. Despite his passionate opposition to Hitler and his followers, shown both in his journalistic and academic activities¹³, nothing could be done to avoid the moment when, quoting Thomas Mann, Germany went on a weekend trip and left the power in the hands of some politically irresponsible and senseless people who acted led by ethnic and mythological dreams. During this time, Kern offered his farewell by publishing an essay about the origins of universal History, where he stressed the importance of Prehistory as a crucial element to comprehend the subsequent History of European peoples¹⁴. Being as he was an enemy of the establishment he was banned from teaching between 1933 and 1944. During the autumn of 1944 he joined the Resistance in an effort to bring a quick end to the conflict by means of an honourable surrender. Fearing repression and the wave of executions which took place between the end of 1944 and the beginning of 1945, he decided to migrate to Switzerland, where he landed on April 27, 1945. There he shifted to mysticism and dedicated some time to study India, writing, for instance, about Ashoka the Great. In the meantime, he had married Elisabeth Charlotte Ahrens, a daughter of doctor Reinhold Ahrens, and had another child with her.

The various prohibitions imposed by the occupying forces prevented Kern from coming back to Germany until 1948, when he settled in Mainz and died two years later. In this place he gave birth to his last creation: the *Institut für*

12. That series of conferences was called: *Der Kampf um den Rhein*. The title of Kern's contribution was: *Der Ruhrkrieg. Umriß und Erinnerung*, in *Kriegsverträge der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität Bonn a. Rh.* Heft, 39 (Bonn: Verlag Gebr. Scheur (Bonner Universität Buchdruckerei), 1941). The compilation was edited in 1943 by Karl F. Chudoba, who was at that time chancellor of the University. Kern had participated in another series of conferences the previous year. As a result his work *Friedrich des Grossen schlimmstes Jahr* was published in *Kriegsvorträge der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelm Universität Bonn a. Rh.*, Heft 11. (Bonn: Verlag Gebr. Scheur, Bonner Universität Buchdruckerei, 1940).

13. Which can be perceived just by reading *Stammbau und Artbild der Deutschen und ihrer Verwandten. Ein kultur- und rassengeschichtlicher Versuch* (München: J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1927).

14. *Die Anfänge der Weltgeschichte. Ein Forschungsbericht und Leitfaden* (Leipzig / Berlin: Verlag und Druck von B. G. Teuer, 1933).

europäische Rechtsgeschichte, which became responsible for the 10-volume project entitled *Historia Mundi* (*A Manual of World History*). The objective of this work was to present the histories of the various peoples that make up humankind. Some of the most renowned historians of that time collaborated with Fritz Kern in this work: William Foxwell Albright, Henri Breuil, Rafael Calvo Serer, G. P. Gooch, Levi della Vida, H. S. Nyberg, Franz Schnabel, Harold Steinacker, Rudolf Tschudi and Hendrik Wagenvoort, under the guidance of Fritz Valjavec from 1952, the protection of the *Institut für europäische Geschichte* of Mainz (which was founded by Kern himself), and the publishing effort of the Francke Verlag, from Bern. Unfortunately, Kern passed away in 1950, just before the volume he would have most liked to write was even designed, namely the fifth one referred to the early Middle Ages. It was not published until 1956. Gerd Tellenbach and Harold Steinacker wrote the chapters concerning the foundations of the Western culture¹⁵.

I shall now discuss Kern's idea of Medieval Law.¹⁶ Before proceeding, however, I shall first dwell on the concept of Law, Justice and Divinity according to the Medieval world-view. Without this knowledge, the central question on Kern's views would seem feeble. It is the author's interest to emphasize his belief that Kern's approach to Medieval Law seems to be the soundest one, for he considered and took into account not only the texts at his disposal but also the way of thinking of the medieval communities he was studying. The

15. *Historia Mundi*. Volume V. *Frühes Mittelalter* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1956). The whole ensemble of chapters on the said subject is called: *Die Grundlegung des Abendlandes*, with collaborations of Tellenbach, G., "Europa im Zeitalter der Karolinger", pp. 393-450; and Steinacker, H., "Weltgeschichtliche Einordnung des Frühmittelalters", pp. 451-487.

16. Which can be found essentially in the following works, *vid.*: the main outlines are in F. Kern, "Über die mittelalterliche Anschauung vom Recht", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 115 (1916), 496-515; deeper contents will be found in, "Recht und Verfassung im Mittelalter", *Historische Zeitschrift*, 120 (1919), 1-79, with later editions in form of a book; and finally, focusing on political and constitutional fields: *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie. Mittelalterliche Studien*. Herausgegeben von Fritz Kern. Band 1, Heft, 2 (Leipzig: Verlag von R. F. Koehler, 1914), with subsequent editions in 1954 and in 1973, and Spanish translation of Ángel López-Amo Martín, *Derechos del Rey y Derechos del Pueblo* (Madrid: Ediciones Rialp, 1955). A hispanic transposition is contained in A. Iglesia Ferreirós, *La creación del Derecho. Una historia del Derecho español. Lecciones* (Barcelona: Signo, 1989). Tomo II, pp. 70 y ss.; *La creación del Derecho. Una historia de la formación de un derecho estatal español* (Barcelona: Signo, 1992). Tomo I, pp. 272 y ss.; *La creación del Derecho. Una historia de la formación de un derecho estatal español*, 2ª edición corregida (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 1996). Tomo I, pp. 277 ss.; and finally a shorter version of the same author "El derecho del año mil", en *La Península Ibérica en torno al año 1000. VII Congreso de Estudios Medievales* (Ávila: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 2001), pp. 105-130.

following ideas summarize the whole conception of Kern's views about the Medieval Law offered in this essay: the Law is (must be) good and old; the Law is a non-written Law based upon customs (not based on statutes); the Law is not created by men (only God created the Law), but discovered by men; there are not new Law but a reestablishment of the ancient Law; and finally Law is equal to Justice.

An indubitable assertion, ascribed to Otto Brunner, affirms that within the Medieval Law before the 12th and 13th centuries nothing appeared to be clearer and better defined than the divine origin of the legal order of that time. God Himself wanted the Law; God Himself was the Law; therefore, the Law was pleasant for the Deity insofar as the former emanated from the latter. The evolution of the Law after those centuries and during the Late Middle Ages did not imply an open secularisation or the abandonment of the medieval idea of God, but the abandonment of the extant link with the ideology of fairness and the subsequent appearance of a new situation. The Law left the Law, parted with its contents or sacred foundations, fractured the primitive unity between Law and Justice, which were then seen as contradictory: The Law (*ius*) was considered as human creation, while the Justice (*iustitia*) was a creation of God, and those new senses represented the direction taken by the new legal universe. The time for the *Ius Commune* had arrived and lasted until the 18th century.

The close tie between Law and Deity had a simple and effective starting point: everything had been created by God and God gave everything an order to work according to certain eternal principles. This could be said about the main body of created beings. Planets, stars, orbs, worlds, human beings, animals, natural processes, they all unfold their effects following the divine plan designed from eternity. Everything was in order and within measure and restraint. Creation adapted to an eternal canon which had been perfectly calculated and obeyed the will of that Supreme Being. That order was divine and also the measure of everything was characterised by its divine essence. Consequently, that order, when transferred to the world of human beings, who were created in God's own image with an unquestionable, though limited, power to create, acquired the external shape of Law and could ultimately be identified with the Deity itself, since it was the expression of its wishes and caprices (the time of Thomistic rationality had not yet arrived, although an idea of it had been shaped by William of Auxerre at the beginning of the 13th century). This way of thinking adopts the shape of the solid thought led by Saint Augustine of Hippo who was its best, most relevant and most influential figure, in terms of enduring value.

Starting from a suitable and particular paradigm which may apply to the referred medieval time we must admit that it is not possible to talk about Law without talking about Religion during the central years of the Middle Ages or, at least, without referring to a close and unbreakable tie between Law and God, rather than between Law and Religion. There was no such thing as a clear, defined and precise limit or frontier between legal order and Deity, between Law and God. What was said about the latter could be readily affirmed about the former. The Middle Ages was not a period of scepticism; on the contrary, from the point of view of dogma, the main problems were caused by excessive belief, by blind faith. Medieval society could not conceive a universe without God, a nature without its Creator, a humankind without a supreme Lord. God had all those profiles: the divine one, the creative one, the noble one. "If every human thing has been a creation of God" the medieval man thinks "the Law cannot be an exception, but the confirmation of that principle".

As García-Pelayo asserted, never before had such a pathetic and intense fight for the legal order taken place in the history of humankind similar to the absolute identification which was assumed by every medieval community with its own legal heritage. Each community lived, not with the Law, but for the Law, which inevitably led to the mimesis between the Law, the community and the individual, so that any attack on the Law was seen as an attack on the community itself and each one of its members and, consequently, the defence of that broken and shattered legal order meant the action not only of the global social structure but also of each one of its independent elements. The defence of one's right, in the sense of concrete freedoms, and the title to that right were analogous and exchangeable concepts: to have a right to something and to be able to defend it were similar powers which eventually merged into one concept.

For the medieval world-view the universe was a united and structured whole but, above all, unique. Each individual immersed in that totality was at the same time one of its parts, subject to the general aim of the universe, as well as a minor whole having its own aims. The dialectics macrocosms-microcosms, universalism-localism, marked the life and thought of the medieval era, as Gierke asserts. This interdependence between the subject, as a subjected individual, *subiectus*, and the totality, the universe, as the leading entity of every movement, behaviour or attitude, reached its ultimate fulfilment in the Deity. God was the principle and finality of every single being on earth.

Accordingly, God, who does not like anarchy, endowed them with a specific plan which must inescapably and imperatively guide their conducts.

Every order, no matter its kind, was the ultimate result of the divine order and every group was nothing but the reflection of that order arranged by God in heaven and earth. There were no exceptions to this principle. All beings were subject to it. The means and the aims were always divine. Everything was either God or aimed at God. The universe, in short, was an immense harmony built by the Deity itself, who pervades the whole global order and each one of its parts; draws the margins of creation, and provides its colour. The plurality of the creation was transformed into the supreme unity which God represented. That unity was the fundamental principle of the universe in view of the fact that God was unique and, moreover, that unity characterised His essence. God was above every plurality of the world. He was the source and the end of every being. The divine will (or the divine reason, having recourse to the ambiguous as well as calculated terminology of Augustine of Hippo) acted as the law of the universe for all existent plural beings. This eternal law was present in everything, determined everything, saw everything and governed everything.

The various parts appeared clearly tied to the abovementioned supreme entity because, after having assumed the existence of plural parts, their lives were not governed by a principle of autonomy. Quite the opposite, these parts were strictly guided by their links with the Deity, having no way to escape, which seems logical insofar as the unity always precedes the plurality, the whole is always previous to the parts: the plurality found its origin in the unity and showed the trend to return to it. To sum up, the order was the subordination of the plurality to the unity, the *reductio ad unum*, the superior direction of the political and religious entity to achieve the global purposes, which was only feasible if the unity itself governed the plurality by leading it, managing it, establishing its elements and determining its end or ends.

The legal authority exercised over the Christian individual was equivalent to a unity which is apparently complex. This authority or power was based on two powers: the Empire and the Papacy, which aimed to exercise their own powers, respectively temporal and spiritual, with supremacy. But the existence of a distinct religious link stood out above them, and this link was the determining factor contributing to unify Europe after the downfall of the Roman Empire. The dispersed energies that emerged after that political debacle were catalyzed and united thanks to Christianity, which acted like a balsam on a destroyed civilisation, the Roman one, against the Germanic peoples who arrived to the Empire full of force and vitality. By maintaining and preserving the Ancient culture, Christianity was its most faithful repository and prevented it from disappearing, as it would have otherwise happened.

Christendom, the *Res Publica Christiana*, proved itself to be the incarnation of the mentioned ideal of a global and only political community.

Apart from being the only true community, which had received the divine revelation and the real truth, it was the melting pot where the existent cultures merged, the axis where disparity acquired its appearance of unity. Notwithstanding the fact that daily life travelled through the channels of localism, immersed at the same time in an obvious political pluralism (absence of cities, proliferation of non-communicated small centres of population, ruin of the old commercial routes; in short, the absolute isolation of an already demographically reduced population), there was the conscience of belonging to a political as well as religious reality, which was stronger than those limitations imposed by precarious living conditions. Western Europe was a plural conglomeration with a unifying (not standardizing) common substratum. The various inferior authorities had to make their powers conditional on the decisive criteria of the hierarchy. Hamlets, neighbourhoods, manors, domains, castles, towns, cities, provinces, republics, principalities and kingdoms, all of them within the Christian Empire, needed to determine precisely their own sphere of action. The idea of jurisdiction, in the sense of location of the power, helped in this sense for it was only this concept which was useful to put some order in that chaotic conception of hierarchy.

Many communities did finally culminate in a superior and broad community, the combination of every community power, whose distinctive feature was that it had the Christian ideology as an internal and external pattern of conduct, by following which people were considered as part of the said community. Therefore, the Christian rites served as point of entry into that society, which aspired to achieve perfection by way of imitation of Christ (*imitatio Christi*). Baptism became the necessary step for someone to become a full member of that community; the communion was the daily sign of renewal of that membership and belief. Excommunication, on the other hand, was the most serious sanction since it meant the loss of the sacramental grace and exclusion from the defined social circle. The political and religious community was based on that sacramental reality in the sense of a process determining the integration and continuity of everybody in that group which considers itself perfect. It was also based on a shared historic founder (Jesus Christ), as well as, ultimately, on the predominance of the religious factor like the decisive element of integration in the group. The unity of communities in political and religious terms was based on common religion, which the members of the communities professed by availing of the sacraments.

Hence, everything derived from Religion. Out of the Catholic Religion there was no society; one was not part of the only true society: in any case, one could *be* in this society, but without actually *belonging* to it. The apparent contradiction between the universal and the local trend was overcome by means of having recourse to theories such as Neo-Platonism or the Aristotelian view about the gradations of the being (the unity must be universal, which is only possible if each part has its own place, its appropriate place: this is the only guarantee of the harmonic integration of every extant authority). Many arguments were offered in this sense. There was an original centre, with the duality pope-emperor at its front, with a common language and with a *caput mundi*, Rome, the indispensable reference, from where the parallel hierarchies, both in the secular and the ecclesiastical fields, derived, along with other cities also shrouded in that aura of sanctity. There was an only main body with various members who did not act independently, but in a coordinated way, although the supreme guidance of the plural ensemble within the unity was ascribed to the head of that body which was essentially referred to God.

Christendom was the exclusive reality and only within Christendom perfection, understood from a moral perspective as the straight way towards God, was possible. Out of Christendom there was nothing but imperfection, ruin, remains, projects and potentials which would never materialize for they lacked the cohesive element that faith represented, which had the effect of uniting the community and making it meaningful. Thanks to Christendom, the Christian individual, the man par excellence, was able to define the rest of humankind and to place himself in connection with others. Therefore, the political patterns which are put into practice are reproductions, more or less accurate, of that superior divine order: the political order seeks to fulfil the kingdom of God on earth in an effort to recover the primitive value of coexistence which was corrupted by the original sin. That is why the power and the political organization of this time served God, aiming to protect the established order.

The main task of the medieval royalty was to defend and materialize the divine legacy because the condition of royalty was received from God Himself. Therefore, the search for peace and order (both aspirations being reflections of Justice) and the protection of the institutional organization where that divine order lay (the Catholic Church as the only perfect society able to overcome the imperfections of its members) were the fundamental missions of every power. In other words, God inspired everything and was behind the whole political structure.

In this context, the sacred character of the Law all along the early medieval times must be present whenever it comes to approach the subject we are dealing with. God was Law and that Law was Justice. Consequently, all Law was always fair or, at least, it had presumably been created in accordance with the basic pattern of divine Justice. There was a complete identification between Law and Justice as the main characters of the legal stage. The Law was religious and Christian as well as seen like a holy, traditional and old custom or as the incarnation of a certain community's conscience. And this community was precisely chosen by God to receive His knowledge of the ordered reality, of His most important creature: the human being.

It was an inherited Law, transmitted from one generation to the next one. That is why the intervention of the political powers was limited to the protection of that Law, never being able to affect its essence. It was not necessary to determine what that the Law was because its pre-existence was assumed. Law existed before man; hence, it had to be defended while its practice was being shaped.

It was not a Law created by studious and erudite men, educated in exclusive languages and techniques; on the contrary, it was elaborated by those who possessed a practical knowledge of legal matters, those who could perfectly distinguish what was fair from what wasn't, but was linked to the community instead (or at least they thought it was). In consequence, the Law emerged from the workshop of the daily practical life. Finally, it was not a scientific Law, nor has it been dogmatically or theoretically developed without considering its effectiveness when applied to social life. In other words, it was a practical Law.

Assuming that the Law was seen as a part of the divine order of Creation, it is immediately deduced that this desirable Law, equivalent to divine Law, stood out because of its two fundamental features: its antiquity and its goodness. The Law was, using Fritz Kern's well-known expression, "*alt und gut*", old and good. And under what conditions can these adjectives be properly employed? To be considered as Law, one rule, regardless of its name and category, had to meet the said conditions: it had to be a good rule as well as an old rule. One condition did not necessarily imply the other. They were two sides of the same coin, though they were endowed with certain independence.

That is to say, a good Law was an old Law; an old Law was a good Law. However, whilst the second statement leaves no room for discussion – what is good must necessarily be old and derives from past ages – hence every good Law is necessarily an old Law, the reversal of those intellectual terms does not

lead to the same conclusion. Not every old Law is a good Law inasmuch as the specific feature of age might have distorted the essence of the legal order, subsequently corrupting the original sense of that Law. Nevertheless, many different conducts were frequently covered with the mantle of age and tradition.

Only God can generate rules, He was the only entity who could create and establish a legal order. Therefore the Law, as a divine creation, existed because of God and with God, right from the eternity, and possessed the required condition of goodness insofar as God, the incarnation of all virtues and perfections, was always good and that condition was always passed on His creations. Every conduct or practice needed to be identified with the divine idea of goodness. That is how this condition resulted applicable. The good conduct is good because it coincides with the divine order. Whenever this coincidence was evident, it could be said that a certain conduct was linked to the order established by God, and its origins were consequently located within the context of Creation. That original goodness guaranteed the persistence of that good conduct and transformed it into an old conduct.

Nonetheless, the opposite did not always happen since the evolution of the Law, the distorting action of men over the legacy of God and the adaptation of that order to their own needs might have caused deviations from the long trajectory of the legal order. There might have emerged conducts which were quite the converse of the divine order, which consolidated within the social framework, which apparently became Law only because of the action of time, though these conducts could not really be considered as good ones. The fact of being old was not enough to create an indestructible presumption which identified the old conduct with the divine order. The human order existed next to the divine order and any discrepancy between both could cause distortions within the subordination to the divine legal ideology, which revealed as the parameter to determine whether any human conduct, any positive human Law, was adequate or not.

Medieval Law was divine, natural and positive at the same time, and it kept those characters even if the different sources of that Law did not play the same role at all. These sources were not equally worth. The Law always derived from God and this fact eternally marked the conduct as far as it was God's wish. Hence that conduct would act as the model to be followed when it came to judge the eventual reflection of that conduct created by the adaptation of those principles to human needs. All Law was divine, natural and positive, but the first attribute exerted a power which eventually triumphed over the rest, regardless of the alterations that the intermediate bodies may cause. The

worldly judges, who governed the different peoples and were presumably good Christians, had one main mission: to dismantle the appearance of Law and restore the appropriate, old and good Law; to purge, clean and return to the original divine plans and remove any human interference which might have clouded the straight intention that God revealed to men.

Once the premise of the antiquity and the goodness as inherent characteristics of the medieval legal order has been accepted, and following Kern's thought, a wide series of features emerges and they prove suitable to describe medieval thought and its connections with the Law: after having also accepted the three already mentioned characteristics of the legal order (the Law is divine, hence old, hence good), we are obliged to admit that according to medieval conceptions human beings had no power to create Laws. In other words, the Law was not established, nor created by man but by God. In this period, man's role was different and subsidiary, for it had to adhere to the previous divine creations. At most, man could prevent that divine order from being duly discovered, he could make his contribution to generate inappropriate conducts.

Man's role is not that of creating evil to distort the Law, but that of denying the established divine order. This can be explained by means of having recourse to the Augustinian ideology, according to which the existence of evil cannot be preached, for evil lacks substance, and it can only be defined the other way around: denying goodness. Only goodness existed, and it either fully expanded or was rejected by man, but there was no place for evil within the divine plan because that would mean that God created evil, and this idea contradicts the essence and the attributes of deity (one of which is goodness).

If we transfer this theological scheme to the field of Law the outcome is that the so-called bad habits or conducts (*malos fueros*, *pravae consuetudines*, *malos usos*) do not have legal character since they cannot be strictly considered as Law, but as the denial of that Law. The Law, created by God, was good in essence and therefore it could not be branded as evil under any circumstances. God being behind it, there was place to talk only about goodness. Whenever goodness was denied or rejected, it was assumed that man's hand had interfered and the divine glare formerly shining brightly had hidden. Hence the straight order suffered a momentary occultation. It was not just a possibility: it was a necessity, a categorical imperative. Man, lacking the capacity to generate Law, could only try to discover the true divine Law, the desirable, old and good Law as God created and established it, *i.e.* the Law of the High Middle Ages.

Man sought and found the Law. In consequence, there was not a written Law apart from the biblical texts which could be invoked as the ultimate source of Law insofar as they were also the expression of the divine will. In short, it was an oral and customary Law. The will of God had been revealed to every man so that they were able to know it by acquainting themselves with it through a process of self-discovery within their own consciences, following in this point the Augustinian medieval thought again. The Law existed in a latent state, whether it was visible or not. But it was already there. It had been given and it was now time to defend it through its application. The Law was either received or acknowledged, but never created. The written versions of the Law did not put an end to the divine order, nor could they depict the whole divine Law. They were nothing more than extracts of the global map of the universe coming from man's hand, which means that they could not possibly be flawless.

The fight for the Law did not finish when it was finally written, action that meant nothing but a praiseworthy, though not indispensable, accident in the formulation of the Law. Perhaps it was due to the fact that that writing was only a human demand, not a divine mandate in any case. Then the Law had to be sought and formulated in accordance with men's demands for security and certitude, both of which inspired the idea of order as the man wanted it to be established on earth.

Two more ideas shaped the medieval conception of legal order, however paradoxical they might appear to us nowadays: the old Law abolished the new Law (in the sense already referred: the old Law did finally place itself on top of the new Law as far as the latter was considered as bad Law, bad custom, bad *fuero*, non-Law which needed to be eradicated), and that can be explained because there was no original creation of legal rules. The bad customs and the bad Law which surreptitiously found their way into the legal universe demanded to be considered as old Law, but it was proved that they could not be linked to the prevailing idea of goodness in God's natural order.

Consequently, this order itself would expel that corrupt practice or habit by removing the bad Law and emphasizing the validity of the old Law, the only one which indeed deserved that adjective, the only Law which was, strictly speaking, Law. Whenever there were perceptible changes in the rules, they were not seen as creations or modifications of the legal order, which was already eternal, firm and immutable. Those changes were simple restorations of the old and good Law seeking to recover the divine order which had been corrupted by the human beings' evilness.

Kern used to talk about a "*Wiederherstellung*", a restoration, a re-establishment of the "*guten alten Rechts*", similar to the doctor's task of healing an illness: that restoration implies the elimination of all those germs brought by men's conduct in the divine plan. It is worth to remember Roger Bacon's well-known sentence: "*Natura non vincitur, nisi parendo*", i.e. nature can only be defeated by obeying it. That almost sacred respect to tradition, to the factual legal order, implied altogether the flawless character of what was consecrated thanks to time. Discoveries in no matter what aspect of medieval man's life (art, architecture, literature, etc.) finally became imperative only because they were founded on experience after having survived arduous physical or intellectual battles. Past times were not fond of innovation and this idea also applies when adopting the legal approach. The aim was not to create new things, but to consolidate what already existed, strengthen whatever came from the past, by improving it. Those were times of empirical connections. *A priori*, there were no guiding principles. The existence moved in accordance with the various conditions to which it had to adapt.

That Law was not created by man (but by an act of God), nor was it destroyed by this creature either. Man only distorted the Law, although its original significance, its divine origin, always shone in the end. The Law transformed itself by removing those misconducts which had gained the appearance of legal rules as well as by replacing them with other appropriate conducts. The situation improved insofar as it was possible in each particular moment. Innovation was equivalent to distrust and evil. Therefore the intellectual process led to rejecting the creation of Laws. Nonetheless, the old legal order cannot be considered as utterly immutable for this order was subject to different guidelines and bore various ends. The custom, which was the key element of the legal order during the High Middle Ages, had to effectively adapt to the imperatives of Justice and rationality.

However, the action of improvement or correction were never accepted as having the consequence of creating something new, but as the re-establishment of what was old and had been buried by man's action. In any case, this seemed an intellectual fiction which could not hide the achievement of an innovation. This search for Justice was especially boosted by the Catholic Church by means of interpreting a well-known biblical excerpt. Indeed, Jesus Christ never said "I am the custom", but "I am the truth". The elimination of what is iniquitous was the path to re-establish Justice and equity, helped to consecrate the triumph of the divine Law and permitted the justification of that innovation which, we insist, was objectively innovation, though it was not presented as such. The abovementioned biblical excerpt had a gradual

influence on the secular Law and became the criterion to validly construe the custom as Law.

The Law was old because its essence and its existence was explained through the act of Creation, when God resolved to settle an order for the human beings which adapted the external form of Law, which, to be indeed Law, had to be old and this implied that its origins needed to be found exactly in the precise moment when the plurality of orders surrounding the human beings were built. Nevertheless, the age itself had not the power to guarantee a custom to eventually become Law. The passing of time did not have enough significance as to justify, explain and reason the Law. It was necessary to garnish that old Law with various ethical, moral and axiological elements, all of which will lead us to distinguish the divine action. The Creation also included the Law, but in that moment God also created a certain configuration of Law, a Law with specific contents and precise profiles.

The need of an ethical note which would pervade the whole legal order arose. And that ethical note or moral element was the foundation of goodness, which, as it has already been said, did not necessarily imply the condition of old and *vice versa*. Incidentally, this moral element prevents us from being able to talk about a medieval absolutism in the hands of those who held the power. On the contrary, the medieval world implied the omnipotence of the Law, hence the omnipotence of God and the subjection of every human being to that order. The ultimate corollary was the primacy of the legal custom as the source of Law par excellence, given the frailty of political power, which pretended to be demanding and totalitarian, wanted to subdue the ensemble of every social link, did not create the Law and was not able to guarantee the imposition of the accepted legal order. Political power did not possess the Law; there was no genealogical connection between them, in the sense that the former was not able to generate the latter, nor had it the means to facilitate a uniform application of the Law. Furthermore, the power was subject to the dictates of the Law due to its divine origin and could not play with it either.

Custom was the essential legal source, the most refined expression of that legal order. The foundation of custom was tradition, the passing of time, the respect for everything that our ancestors have made since time immemorial. Regardless of any other source of Law whose true existence could not be determined since they were nothing but the reflection of the customary universe surrounding the early medieval ages, the custom represented the starting point for the legal meditation. That traditional condition of the custom did not represent an obstacle to develop, using the custom as base or even as an excuse, an implicit task of creation, modification or reform, which was taken on by

the most influential and tangible factual or jurisdictional powers. And it happens, curiously, that that custom, when devoid of the popular component ascribed to it by Savigny, became firm only when the established power accepted it, echoed it, tolerated it or permitted its existence. During the early High Middle Ages, at least until the first half of the 12th century, there were no laws. It was, above all, a time of non-written customary Law. The Law and its different manifestations were oral; it was a non-textual transmission, an erudite or popular exchange of ideas, impressions and thoughts¹⁷.

The Law was then nothing more than an enormous and eternal shapeless mass, to which men could only gain access partly although it was constantly present or, at least, in a latent state. It was a sort of surrounding atmosphere which extended from heavens to earth and penetrated every single corner and fissure of human relationships. The Law was known to be there, it could be discovered at any moment and it was possible to deepen in its knowledge by simply developing those basic principles that incarnated the divine legal order and were found in a large ensemble of secondary legal texts. The reliable and honest intellectual approach of any judge of the time (whether a king, a wise man, a count, a duke, a mayor, a jury, etc., in any case, an authority representing the Christian virtues, the only ones that placed man on the right way towards God) was enough to transform the original divine mandate in positive Law to be applied to human beings.

The Law was intertwined in the nature waiting to be understood, gathered and formulated by those who had a special knowledge of that reality, those who were able to construe that legal dimension which pre-existed to human beings and were higher than them. And that interpreting authority had to be invested with the same elements that characterised the Law, namely, the good-

17. See the following works on this subject: P. Vinogradoff, *Custom and Right* (Reprint of the First Edition, Oslo, 1925) (New Jersey: Lawbook, Exchange, 2000); J. Gilissen, *La Coutume*, L. Génicot (dir.), *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental*. Fasc. 41 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982); VV. AA., *Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin pour l'Histoire Comparative des Institutions*. Vol. LII, 2nd Part. *La Coutume* (Bruxelles: De Boeck Université, 1990); G. Dilcher, H. Lück, R. Schulze, E. Wadle, J. Weitzel and U. Wolter, *Gewohnheitsrecht und Rechtsgewohnheiten im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 1992); F. L. Pacheco Caballero, "Ley, costumbre y uso en la experiencia jurídica peninsular bajomedieval y moderna", *El Dret Comú i Catalunya. Actes del IV Simposi Internacional. Homenatge al professor J. M. Gay Escoda*. Edición de Aquilino Iglesia Ferreirós (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1995), pp. 75-146; y "Reyes, leyes y derecho en la Alta Edad Media castellano leonesa", *El Dret Comú i Catalunya. Actes del V Simposi Internacional*. Edición de Aquilino Iglesia Ferreirós (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1996), pp. 165-206; and A. Iglesia Ferreirós, "Consuetudine", *A Ennio Cortese* (Roma: Il Cigno Edizioni, 2001), II, pp. 196-207.

ness and the condition of old. If that authority did not meet those qualities, then it could not access that knowledge with the required guarantees of an adequate appraisal of its essence. Medieval Law depended on the interpretation made by some venerable men (rather than on the action of existent authorities or powers) who acted in accordance with their ancestors' instructions. Therefore, the subject and the object of that Law happened to be the same for they were invested with the same essential characters. They are venerable men because their task is to make an interpretation of what is an object of veneration, the legal order, and they are venerable because of their ancient mission. In short, the medieval Law was made of partly renewed and improved traditional precepts which came from the legal spirit of the community.

Hence, another feature of this legal order is inferred from what has been said: the particularity and the detailed and meticulous character of that order as well as its lack of abstraction. There were no general Laws. They were developed in detail, in a casuist way. There were particular conducts and behaviours which became models to be imitated. In consequence, it was a Law that existed for and by itself and had the Divinity behind it, which justified and guaranteed its perennial existence. It was a Law in continuous evolution and its practical application only occurred whenever it was known by men. And men, incapable of comprehending the entire essence of Creation, had to content themselves with getting to know only a part of it, which is the part that they put into practice according to their possibilities. Since the divine plan was never going to be completely understood, men had to resign themselves to a fragmentary understanding of the reality that God placed in front of them, without being able to perform a complete intellectual setting of the various *tesserae* which form the mosaic built by the Supreme Being.

That evident ethereal character of the legal order however means its low technical development, not to talk of a marked absence of technique, partly caused by man's incapability to completely assume the integrity of the said order. Given the fact that the Law already existed and had already been formulated (though it was formulated using an incomprehensible language), there was hardly the opportunity to worry about it from a scientific point of view. Since God was the author of this Law, the latter can only be perfect. Any attempt of the man to approach the Law did inevitably imply the decadence and corruption of the original legal scheme, for, as it has already been stated, it could not possibly be assumed in its whole essence.

The inherent realism of medieval man prevented him from completely understanding the abstract foundations and the invisible links of the legal framework of this period: he needed to give some shape to these intangible

elements, hence the importance of external symbols and/or the resort to solemn objects and expressions to perfect contracts. However superfluous these acts and formalities might seem, there were sound legal intentions, whether express or hidden, behind them. What is tangible, what can be seen, touched and measured prevailed over the abstractions, which never were so remote from the legal reality. The Law was not captured in the written word. It was mostly expressed by external symbology, fiction, gestures, conducts.

All these reasons explain the non-technical character of the medieval Law. It did not stimulate meditation, nor did it allow building anything out of it. There was, beyond all doubt, a clear absence of multipurpose concepts which caused a lack of systematic unity: there was no meditation on the theory, therefore the Law was seen as a jigsaw. If the concepts fail, there is no system. This can be observed only by reading any medieval legal text, statute, collection of customs or *fuero*. Rather than a logical or at least fairly organized structure of precepts, there was an accumulation of rules based on casuistry and experience, a heterogeneous range of rules of different origins bearing even more different influences and sources. Before that multicoloured exhibition of sources, origins and influences, the man could only assume his impotence to gain access to the complete legal truth. It was a Law that could never be considered as finished for it was constantly subject to reform due to its consubstantial instability. Its evolution depended on the human acknowledgment and comprehension of the Divine legal mandates. Its incessant customary developments tried to please each community's needs. The surrounding reality pervaded the Law at the same time that this Law regulated the demands of this reality. There was order, indeed, but it was not a system in the sense of a deliberately hierarchical structure of legal institutions, distinct from other social institutions, leaded by a body of people who were *ex profeso* prepared to that end. The underlying Roman inheritance could not hide the existent *marasmus* of legal precepts. Plurality was the common factor of this time.

The absence of unity and the impossibility to develop abstractions prevented any scientific knowledge from becoming firm. This explains the obstacles to build doctrines and the subsequent prevalence of descriptions. The Law was not dogma, it was praxis; it was not logic, but experience; it was not reasoning, but intuition and common sense, popular legal conscience, reflection of ideologies, myths, legends and superstitions. It was a pragmatic and non-scientific knowledge, away from books and theories. The oblivion of Roman Law plunged the medieval legal order in a complete shortage of intel-

lectual references which would have been suitable to name what was new for the medieval man.

Although the Law existed, there were no appropriate words to name it since the Roman vocabulary was lost, forgotten or simply impossible to understand. That is why such a complex text like the *Pandects* was not used because its elevated literary prose was not adaptable to the medieval reality. The idea of “*nature*” becomes the central principle of order insofar as nature is linked to Divinity and construed in accordance with the Divine postulates. Divinity helped to channel the legal and factual flow which aspired to become Law. Nature was linked to the omnipresent Christian ideology and also emphasized three fundamental elements which help to understand the entire sense of the medieval Law: land, time and blood. Additionally, Religion represented the specific and relevant weight of God in that non-secularized context. The idea of nature played an essential role because it announced the predominance of the social framework regarding the configuration of the eventual legal order. Taking the objects of reality as the starting point, the Law became tangible. However it was not an objective body which tried to adjust society to its own interests but the other way around: the reality of things determined the apparition of every specific rule. The order was not “objectified”, on the contrary, it was subordinated to the material and tangible reality.

The absence of a literary tradition, the shortage of books and the prevalence of oral transmission gave the Law a singular position compared to other periods when the written Law prevailed. The spoken word determined the transmission of knowledge. Few texts survive because there was no need to have texts. Moreover, the Law was not independently studied but in connection with other logical or dialectical subjects. It did not possess precise limits, nor did it follow a scientific or methodical line. The outcome: the inexistence of powerful centres of legal culture, slightly similar to those of the Antiquity (we can only think of Pavia, in the north of Italy). The absence of masters inevitably provoked the absence of students and pupils, the absence of jurists in a broad sense. There were wise men, elderly men and connoisseurs of the Law, the practices, habits and styles of the community. But there were not real jurists who were familiar with the theories and therefore could build systems, concepts, doctrines, ideas. Pragmatism had reached its highest expression¹⁸.

18. The legal books appeared during the next centuries. Before them, the oral Law prevailed; after them, the written Law. Cf. Gagnér, *Studien zur Ideengeschichte der Gesetzgebung*. Acta Universalis Upsaliensis. Studia Iuridica Upsaliensia I. (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960); J. Vanderlinden, *Le concept de code en Europe occidentale du XIIIe au XIXe siècle. Essai de*

The various features that have been sketched so far reinforce the idea of the fundamental role played by the Law in the organization of the medieval society. Out of this society there was no Law at all. And this Law was the fundamental pillar to guarantee peace, order, tranquillity and security. The Law represented the lofty guarantee of the lives, properties and freedoms of the individuals, both in the personal and collective sense. Out of the Law, there was nothing but the void, the “legal nothingness”.

Law always led to God. The role of God was not merely that of a divine architect, *i.e.* He only created and after that supreme and sublime action He departed the world leaving it to be freely leaded by the men. If the reality were thus, the whole of God's traditional attributes (omniscience and omnipresence among others) would have been questioned. God played a key role as the only creator, though his tasks did not finish at that point insofar as He also qualified the established legal order at the same time: it was a divine order in terms of its origin and a supreme order with regard to its authority. It had also a precise purpose: the Law, as part of the Supreme order, was the fair path that men had to follow to achieve salvation. Additionally, Religion was the straight way and its principles were reflected in every regulation of human conduct. And the Law meant salvation.

définition. Études d'Histoire et de Ethnologie Juridiques (Bruxelles: Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie. Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1967); L. Génicot, *La Loi*, L. Génicot (dir.), *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Âge Occidental*. Fasc. 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977); P. Classen (hsgb.), *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, Thorbeck, 1977); H. J. Berman, *Law and Revolution. The Formation of the Western Legal Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); and *La formación de la tradición jurídica de Occidente* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001); B. Diestelkamp, “Einige Beobachtungen zur Geschichte des Gesetzes in vorkonstitutionellen Zeit”, *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 10 (1983), pp. 385-420; G. Astuti *Tradizione romanistica e civiltà giuridica europea* (Roma: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1984), I, pp. 517-579; and III, pp. 2049-92; VV. AA., *Gesetzgebung als Faktor der Staatsentwicklung* (Berlin: Dunker & Humblot, 1984); K. Pennington, “Law Codes, 1100-1500”, *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed by. Joseph R. Strayer (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1986), VII, pp. 425-431; M. Caravale, *Ordinamenti giuridici dell'Europa medievale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994); D. Tamm, *Roman Law and European Legal History* (Copenhagen: Djøf Publ., 1997); P. Johanek, “Rechtsbücher”, *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (München: Artemis & Winkler, 1995), VII, cols. 519-521; A. Wolf, *Gesetzgebung in Europa, 1100-1500. Zur Entstehung der Territorialstaaten*. 2^a Auf. (München: C. H. Beck, 1996); and G. Köbler, “Rechtsbuch”, *Lexikon des europäischen Rechtsgeschichte* (München: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1997); *Leges, Gentis, Regna. Zur Rolle von germanischen Rechtsgewohnheiten und lateinischer Schrifttradition bei der Ausbildung der frühmittelalterlichen Rechtskultur*, G. Dilcher and E. M. Distler (hsgb.) (Berlin. Schmidt Verlag, 2006).

The foundations of medieval Law in the High Middle Ages were based on four principles: the antiquity of the Law and its evolution, the powers of the medieval lords, the fulfilment of the natural order and the intrinsic conception of the Law as the means to achieve earthly happiness, through which men could aspire to eventual celestial happiness. But there was something else. God went beyond the creative field towards perfection. And this perfection demanded the tutelage of the Law, a constant guardianship, an exhaustive vigilance of the legal order seeking to avoid possible distortions. Perfection was a constant reality that had to be exercised. On His part, God was the guarantor of the whole legal universe, of each phase of the Law, from its first manifestations until its final execution. Strictly speaking, there was no abolition of the laws for laws were not really abolished, nor created, but discovered or simply named. There was not a phenomenon such as the *ex novo* generation of laws.

God's task was not exhausted when Creation ended, for He still had to supervise the complete development of the established order. He was not only a "sovereign" law-maker, in the sense of exclusivity and independence from any other entity when it comes to taking His own decisions and be responsible for them. As it was said before, God moved further to become the paradigmatic executor of the Law. God created the Law and also watched over its application through various ways of expression, for instance the well-known and multi-faceted *Media Iuditia Dei* or the intervention in the archetypal acts of manifestation of the Law during the Middle Ages, the trials. The role of Divinity in the course of these legal proceedings (such as the trial by ordeal, or God's trial, in which He showed His mercy and fairness as well as His wish to restrain evil and reward goodness and the so-called expurgatory trials) was not a passive one or merely an idea.

On the contrary, Divinity played an active and real role. It was in fact God who decided on the innocence or guilt of the parties, He solved the dispute. God solved the problem of applicable Law by means of a direct and expeditious intervention. A good proof of this participation would be the existent wide range of iconographical representations of God, Jesus Christ, the apostles or saints acting as judges on earth. Images contributed to develop a whole legal iconography whose main protagonist was Justice: the image was the synthesis; it transmitted whatever needed to be transmitted with a remarkable strength and dignity. The images were the text of that illiterate society. They were *bible pauperum*, the books of the poor men (poor from a cultural perspective). They carried an exhortative, menacing and pedagogical force as well as a constructive purpose: to legitimize, insofar as they justified the actual state

of things, and to educate, because there was no other way to make men see the Divine grace and its consequence. The mission of approaching the Law to men required the interpretation and the dramatization of that Law. The evolution of spirituality was favoured by the social and economic changes of the medieval times. Furthermore, this evolution brought about new symbols in which architecture, religiosity and Law walked together and were considered the expression of the plural and underlying power whose protagonist had just started to change. God was not simply identified with Justice. He was Justice in the broadest sense, covering the basic idea of personal virtue as well as the essential idea of virtue with regard to the whole community: static Justice and dynamic Justice: Justice of heavens and Justice of earth, where the Germanic influence facilitated the new Christian orientation. The Holy Scriptures bore witness to the new model of divine Justice which had to be imposed exactly like God conceived it.

Those sculptural elements placed in the core or beautiful architectonical receptacles were not the only reflections of this idea, nor were they only biblical references that showed the transformation of a strict and retributive Justice (typical of the Old Testament) into the new Justice of love, fraternity and equity (as expressed in the Gospels and the rest of the New Testament). On the contrary, those manifestations were the beginning of a long series of different consequences such as, in first place, the conception of the History of Humanity (following the postulates of Saint Augustine of Hippo in *De Civitate Dei*) as a “procedural” History which is developed in the interval between two important trials – the expulsion from Paradise and the Last Judgement –; in second place, the materialization of divine mandates in various human activities, specially those referred to bellicose periods and, finally, the conferring of that divine mission on those individuals called “vicars of God on earth”, the kings by God’s grace, the medieval kings who, apart from having various attributions received from God, had been invested with the supreme function bestowed by God: the act of judging. The typical concept of medieval monarchy was the king-judge, never the king-lawmaker or the king-administrator. The reason for this was that everything was finally directed towards Justice. And Justice was made possible thanks to the constant search of the Law during this medieval time. The medieval king judged, acted, made war or granted privileges always under the banner of God. God had in His divine hands the hearts of the medieval kings. And those kings dictated the Law, subsequently making effective the jurisdictional paradigm which symbolized the aspiration to achieve the supreme end: peace as the incarnation of a persevering idea which had persisted in the Christian thought since

Saint Augustine of Hippo. And that peace was conceived both in a general or royal sense (however impossible it was for the medieval kings to maintain and guarantee that peace given the weakness of their power and the absence of a well-formed administrative machinery) and in a singularized conception, which resulted in the protection of private goods and particular persons in an effort to preserve the medieval social reality in broad terms. This was the ultimate purpose of Law. From the 12th century onwards the torrent of Common Law burst with strength in medieval Europe and caused a mutation of the legal reality of the time, which ran parallel to the mutation of the whole surrounding reality which had been served by this Law. These mutations open the path to a new period which is beyond the intentions of this humble work. The Law then started to be reshaped in accordance with intellectual elements which are completely different from those that have been depicted in this essay as the main features of the prevailing Law during the High Middle Ages. The knowledge of this Law and its consequent diffusion represent Fritz Kern's most relevant contribution to the European History of Law.

Chronology

- 1884. Fritz Kern is born in Stuttgart.
- 1900-1906. He studies History and Law at the Universities of Lausanne and Berlin.
- 1906. He obtains his degree in Berlin where he has his first contacts with Zeumer and Von Below.
- 1908. He is qualified and becomes a professor in History at the University of Kiel.
- 1910. He starts his regular collaborations with the *Historische Zeitschrift*.
- 1914. His book *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandrecht im früheren Mittelalter. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie* is published.
- 1914. He lectures on Medieval and Modern History at the University of Frankfurt am Main.
- 1918-1919. He serves the Army at the Foreign Affairs Office and at the Army Headquarters under Admiral Tirpitz's command. He would repeat this experience between 1924 and 1926.
- 1919. His essay *Recht und Verfassung im Mittelalter* first appears on the *Historische Zeitschrift* and becomes a book later.
- 1920-1921. He works as a journalist.
- 1922. He starts lecturing at the University of Bonn. He maintains his links with this University until his retirement in 1947.

1933-1944. The Nazi government bans him from teaching.

1945. He moves to Switzerland.

1948. He comes back to Germany and settles in Main.

He founds the *Institut für europäische Geschichte*. The publication of *Historia Mundi* takes off.

1950. Fritz Kern dies in Mainz.

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Vasil Zlatarski (1866 – 1935)

Nadejda Miladinova

The contributions Vasil Zlatarski (1861-1935) cover a variety of topics on the Medieval history of Bulgaria. These studies clarify in detail the place of the Medieval Bulgarian Kingdom in the Byzantine Commonwealth, that is to say the group of nations in South-Eastern Europe which had flexible and enduring cultural ties during the Middle Ages. The life work of Zlatarski - *History of the Bulgarian State during the Middle Ages* (henceforth the *History of the Bulgarian State*) still has an impact on the general outlines in which the history of Bulgaria is presented. Vasil Zlatarski was part of that transitional generation whose lives were marked by turning points in modern Bulgarian history – the fight for an independent Church, the overthrow of the Ottoman rule, and the efforts to build up a modern state. During the Communist regime, the name of Zlatarski was, unavoidably, well known but rarely quoted because he was associated with the former political system of Bulgaria. Because of this there was no substantial discussion of his legacy. In 1970 a second edition of *the History of Bulgarian State* appeared and in 1972 his *Selected works* were published. The 1990's witnessed a revived interest in the legacy of Zlatarski, proving that his studies are important to modern Bulgarian historians.

Biography

Vasil Zlatarski was born on the 14th of November 1866 in the town of Turnovo, in a wealthy family of good reputation. His father Nikola Zlatarski was a renowned high school teacher. Vasil Zlatarski was expected to follow an ecclesiastical career but the premature death of his father changed the plans of his family. Zlatarski was sent to St. Petersburg where one of his older brothers was studying. In St. Petersburg, Zlatarski graduated from a school of Classics where he was a classmate of Alexander Vasiliev, who later became one of the most prominent Russian Byzantinists of the time. Both Zlatarski and Vasiliev chose to study Medieval History at the University of St. Petersburg. In the third year Zlatarski decided to specialize in Medieval Bulgarian history under the supervision of professor Vasilij Vasilevski (1838-1899). That period was decisive for the formation of Zlatarski as a scholar. While his interests

were directed to the history of Medieval Bulgaria, at the same time he became excellently versed in Byzantine topics, which enabled him to explore the flexible bonds that linked Medieval Bulgaria to Byzantium. In 1881 he defended a dissertation entitled *The Letters of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos to the Bulgarian tsar Symeon*.

During the period between 1893 and 1895 Vasil Zlatarski was awarded a fellowship by the Bulgarian Ministry of Education to do a specialization in archeology in Berlin.

Zlatarski's career in Bulgaria began in 1885, when he was appointed high-school teacher and lecturer on Bulgarian history in the Higher School in Sofia. In 1904 the Higher School became the University of Sofia, and Vasil Zlatarski was appointed associate professor in Bulgarian history and history of the Balkan people. With the structural changes of the University of Sofia in 1921, he became head of the Department of Bulgarian history and held this position until the last six months of his life.

During his lifetime, Zlatarski was appointed to a number of significant positions such as dean (1906-1907; 1919-1920) and rector (1913-1914; 1924-1925) of the University of Sofia, and vice-president of the Bulgarian Academy of Science (1926-1935). In addition he was a corresponding member of the Academies of Science of Prague, St. Petersburg and Zagreb; *doctor honoris causa* at the University of Charkov; member of the Russian Archeological Institute in Constantinople; member of the Society of Russian history and antiquities at the University of Moscow; vice-president of the Geographic society in Sofia; member of the School of Slavonic Studies at London University; member of the society of Hungarian orientalists named after Alexander Csoma de Körös, Budapest; member of the Slavonic Institute, Prague; member of the Historical Society in Novi Sad; honorary member of Institutum Kondakovianum, Prague.

Intellectual formation

Equipped with sound training in the Classics, disciplined in the tradition of Russian historiography and versed in the German tradition, Zlatarski was prepared to enter the almost uncharted waters of research on Medieval Bulgarian history. He had two predecessors in this field who gave him advice and encouragement in the early years of his scientific pursuits – Konstantin

Jireček (1854-1918) and Marin Drinov (1838-1906)¹. After the death of Drinov and after the shift of Jireček's interests to the western Balkans, Zlatarski remained the key figure responsible for the development of Medieval Bulgarian studies.

Zlatarski's work acquired significance from the historical moment at which it was produced. In 1878 the Bulgarian state was reestablished after being part of the Ottoman Empire for centuries. Zlatarski, therefore, belonged to that transitional generation, which was formed by the ideas of national revival, and which, reaching mature age after 1878, contributed to build up modern Bulgaria. In fact, he is considered as founding father of the Department of Bulgarian History, being responsible for creating the first center of history studies in Bulgaria and preparing the first generation of young Medievalists who were schooled on native soil.

Some of the courses which Zlatarski gave to his students are preserved in the National Archive, Bulgarian Academy of Science, Sofia (fond number 9K). They cover a variety of themes such as *Byzantine chronographers as a sources of Bulgarian History VII-IX century* (National archive, 9K, 355-358), *Sources on the Bogomil movement* (National archive, 9K, 353-354), *History of Romania* (National archive, 9K, 365), *History of Serbia* (National archive, 9K, 366), *History of Turkey* (National archive, 9K, 364). In addition to various courses on medieval topics, he was the first one who gave a course on the beginnings of Bulgarian historiography.

Research and contributions

Zlatarski considered monographic research and the systematic presentation of Medieval Bulgarian history as his life's mission and the focus of his scientific activity. In order to achieve this, he worked unceasingly for forty-five years and left about 213 works, his life achievement being the *History of the Bulgarian State during the Middle Ages* (in three parts, four volumes). He started working on the earliest period of Medieval Bulgaria, the so-called First Bulgarian Kingdom (681-1018) when he was still a student in Russia. Under the guidance of Vasilij Vasilevski he formed the view that "Bulgarian history cannot be studied without knowledge on what is Byzantine; neither can many

1. K. Jireček, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, Prague, ed. by F. Tempsky, 1876. M. Drinov, *Izbrani Sčinenia*, Vols. 1-2, ed. by I. Dujchev (Sofia: Nauka i Izkustvo, 1971). V. Gjuzeev, 'Marin Drinov (1838-1906) - Begründer der bulgarischen Slawistik und Mediävistik', *Palaeobulgarica*, 17 (1993), p. 107-126.

questions on Byzantine history be clarified without the knowledge of what is Bulgarian.”² Thus, it was a contribution of Zlatarski to set a right direction from the outset of Medieval research in Bulgaria.

The History of the Bulgarian State is the first thorough and systematic presentation of Medieval Bulgarian history. The whole study is divided in three parts (five volumes); the first volume is entitled *History of the First Bulgarian Kingdom*; the second – *Bulgaria under Byzantine Domination*; third part *History of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom*.

The publication of the first volume in 1918 coincided with the end of the First World War, and for this reason Zlatarski dedicated the whole work “to the unforgettable soldiers who had gloriously fallen for the unification of the Bulgarian people, reverently”. The introduction to this volume shows that Zlatarski already had a clear plan for the whole work, which is the following:

The History of the Bulgarian State during the Middle Ages comprises the history of the Bulgarian people from VII to XIV centuries and consists of three volumes, which include:

History of the First Bulgarian Kingdom in two parts: a) Period of Hun-Bulgarian Domination and b) Period of slav-ization [termed as *slavianizatsia*] of the Bulgarian State;

Bulgaria under Byzantine Domination: a) Period of revolts and b) Period of Byzantine influence [termed as *romeizatsia*];

History of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom in two parts: a) Period of unification of the Bulgarians and largest enlargement of the state and b) Period of steady decline of the state and the loss of political and ecclesiastic independence³.

Zlatarski followed his initial plan and the preparation of each volume was preceded by a series of detailed monographs. The first volume (part one) was prepared in the period 1894-1918. Among the monographs which preceded it, are studies on the establishment of the Bulgarian state in the seventh century and the genealogy of the first rulers. In 1909 Zlatarski published a study on the First Bulgarian Kingdom which is important for the methodology in dealing with Byzantine sources on Bulgarian history in combination with the Slavonic translations - *Information about Bulgarians in the chronicle of Symeon*

2. Zlatarski, Vasilii Grigorevich Vasilevskii (Pomenik) , *Periodichesko Spisanie na Bŭlgarskoto knizhovno druzhestvo*, 61 (1900), p. 139.

3. V. Zlatarski, *Istoria na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava prez srednite vekove*, vol. 1 (Sofia, Dŭrzhavna pechatnitsa, 1918).

Metaphrastes and Logothete, Study in history and comparative analysis (1909). The examination of the primary sources continued with an article, *The reference of Michael the Syrian on the migration of the Bulgarians* (1915) and *The address of Photios the Patriarch of Constantinople to the Bulgarian King Boris in Slavonic translation* (1917).

The next book of the *History of the Bulgarian State* came after ten years of preparation in 1927. It was preceded by around twenty monographs, which again focused on the First Bulgarian Kingdom, and among which several are concerned with church history. The second volume begins with the adoption of Christianity in 865 under King Boris Michael, examining the motives of Boris to accept the Byzantine missionaries rather than the representatives of Rome. Furthermore, the invention of the Cyrillic alphabet is examined; the missions of St. Cyril (827-869) and Methodius (826-885) and the flight of their disciples to Bulgaria are also discussed. Finally, the cultural and political acme of the Bulgarian kingdom under King Symeon (864-927) and the fast decline after King Samuel (997-1014) are traced.

The volume on the period of the Byzantine domination appeared in 1934. Like the two previous volumes, it was preceded by a number of monograph studies. It should be noted that after publishing this third volume, Zlatarski continued working as fast as he could, despite his deteriorating health condition and also because of it. However, he could not accomplish his dream to see his comprehensive study on Medieval Bulgaria being published. He passed away working on the last volume which was published posthumously in 1940. This last volume deals with the period of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom. Even if most of the genuine contributions of Zlatarski are on topics related to the First Bulgarian Kingdom, the remaining two volumes still represent the most complete synthesis on Medieval Bulgarian History created at that time.

The writing of the *History of the Bulgarian State* is an achievement in Bulgarian historiography. Zlatarski's contribution is the development of productive methodology for historical research in Bulgaria, which paid close attention to original sources, most of which not only are Slavonic and Byzantine, or Western European, but also Armenian, Muslim, Jewish and Persian. Zlatarski established an approach which included philological, archeological and anthropological evidence. According to his contemporaries, he was a scholar of monographic research who carefully looked at every detail. This could be observed in the appendices to each volume in which different sources are treated with meticulous attention. He wrote mainly in Bulgarian and contributed for the developement of terminology and style for history writing.

The division in three periods of the *History of the Bulgarian State* became so influential that its general outline is still used in presenting Bulgarian history: the First Bulgarian Kingdom (Empire), the period under Byzantine rule, the Second Bulgarian Kingdom (Empire), the period of Ottoman rule, the Third Bulgarian Kingdom and, finally, the Bulgarian Republic. Medieval sources do not mention the terms First and Second Kingdom but refer to the term Bulgaria. However, this tripartite division was readily accepted because, despite the gap of five centuries, this was a way to secure continuity between the Medieval and the Modern Bulgarian state. The quest for symbolic continuity led to a re-presentation of a number of Medieval topics, one of the numerous examples being the choice of the names of the heirs to the Bulgarian throne Boris III (1894-1943) and his son Symeon II (born 1937). Despite coming from the *Saxe-Coburg-Gotha* family – both kings were given the names of the most famous rulers of the tenth-century Bulgaria.

Because the *History of the Bulgarian State* covers a wide range of topics, it inevitably suffers from a number of shortcomings. Most importantly, the author takes for granted the existence of a fully formed idea of nation during the Middle Ages. Moreover, Zlatarski was influenced by the popular perception that Byzantium and Bulgaria were eternal protagonists. Apparently, the negative attitude on Byzantium and the Greeks was rooted in the attempts, dated from the nineteenth century, of the Bulgarians to expel the Greek clergy from their towns and to replace the Greek liturgy with a service in the Bulgarian language. One among the arguments of the Bulgarians was the apostolic mission of St. Cyril and St. Methodius and the translation of the ecclesiastic books from Greek into Slavonic during the Middle Ages. In his childhood, Zlatarski witnessed this conflict, because his father was actively involved in the fight for independence of the Bulgarian Church. Apparently, these popular sentiments led him to call the Byzantine influence in Bulgaria *romeizatsia* and to present it as a generally negative phenomenon.

The influence of Byzantium on Bulgaria has always been much stronger than in any other country, be that a Slavic country. There are several reasons for this: first was Bulgaria's close proximity to Byzantium, second, their earlier adoption of Christianity, compared to the Slavic people's later conversion, third, the period of Byzantine domination, much longer and much more perceivable than in Serbia, and fourth, the remoteness from the center of Latin learning. This influence had its positive and negative sides, but as it can be seen, the negative aspects prevail. Bulgarian history features many personalities who were comparable with their Byzantine counterparts in terms of erudition, and were equally steeped in Byzantine learning. This Byzantine influence on scholarship, however, proves to be more of a drawback than a

push for independent cultural development. In Bulgaria, much more than anywhere else, we find evidence of Slavic adoption of Byzantine models. Bulgaria, much more than any other Slavic country, is presenting itself in the fields of religion and literature, politics and economics as a mosaic of Byzantium⁴.

Studies in history for wider audience

There is another significant side to the legacy of Zlatarski: he published around twenty-seven articles written for a broad audience. In addition to being the editor of *Izvestia na Bŭlgarskoto Istorichsko Druzhestvo*, together with Petŭr Nikov he edited a journal on popular history, the *Bŭlgarska Istoricheska Biblioteka*. Zlatarski's articles for the general public show how much he was influenced by the patriotic feelings which became widely spread after the involvement of Bulgaria in the Balkan wars and the First World War. In fact, among the ideological arguments for these wars was the claim to obtain territories which were considered to have belonged to the Medieval Bulgarian Kingdom. Arguments from history were used as a response to the political events of the time. For example, the years of the First World War saw the publication of an article by Zlatarski that discussed whether or not the claims of Romania over the region of Dobrudzha were based on sound historical basis. In 1917 Zlatarski published maps of the Bulgarian territory during the Middle Ages. Again in the same year an article on the formation of the idea of national unification of the Bulgarian people was published. The attempt to unify the Bulgarian people in one state was most enthusiastically supported by all strata of society. The disillusionment at the end of the First World War coincided with the publication of the *History of the Bulgarian State*. Another example comes from 1929 when two articles discussing from a historical perspective Bulgaria's access to coastlines were published.

Impact and academic reception

Vasil Zlatarski did not establish a school because of external circumstances. However, his prestige was so attractive that he won some following. His most distinguished disciples were Nikola Milev and Petŭr Mutafchiev. Nikola Milev (1881-1925) became a professor at the University of Sofia, published on

4. Idem, *Bŭlgaria prez XIV i XV vek. Lektsionen kurs*, ed. V. Katsunov, T. Popnedelev (Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo Sv. Kliment Ochridski, 2005) p. 112.

different topics and acquired wide recognition for his studies on the Catholic missions in Bulgaria during the seventeenth century⁵. He was engaged in politics and excelled for his diplomatic qualities. In 1925, at the age of forty-seven, Milev was assassinated while taking a walk on a street of Sofia. Allegedly, the organizers of the assassination were members of ultra-left socialist movement. The other disciple of Zlatarski – professor Petür Mutaſchiev (1883-1943) had a successful scientific career⁶ but his legacy was neglected during the years of the Communist regime, which was established in Bulgaria in 1944. Mutaſchiev's daughter, Vera Mutaſchieva, who was a child at the time of her father's death, later became a specialist in Ottoman history and wrote a number of novels, many of which are on Medieval topics.

The contributions of Zlatarski were recognized by his contemporaries. During the Communist regime, there was no relevant engagement with Zlatarski's works. His name was rarely mentioned because of his association with the old regime of Bulgaria. Although his name and works were somehow silenced during the Communist rule, his ideas resonate in the school textbooks of the time. The next edition of the *History of the Bulgarian State* during the Middle Ages came only in 1970 and his *Opera selecta* appeared in 1972. The volumes of the *History of the Bulgarian State* were edited in different ways. The first two volumes included notes of the editor commenting on the results of Zlatarski's works, while the remaining two are a phototype a reprint edition. For this reason the scholars preferred to consult the first edition from the beginning of the twentieth century. Subsequent editions of the *History of the Bulgarian State* were published in 1992, 2002 and 2007, and the renewed interest on the work of Zlatarski resulted in the publication of another work of his, which consists of some of the lectures that he delivered as professor in Sofia at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The *History of the Bulgarian State* has acquired a canonical status in Bulgarian historiography. The tripartite periodisation of Bulgarian history has been unanimously accepted by later generations of historians. As a consequence, all later studies are positioned according to the framework of

5. Milev, N., *Katolishkata propaganda v Bŭlgaria prez XVIII vek. Istoricheskoto izsledvane*, Sofia, 1914.

6. Many of his works are available in more recent editions. Mutaſchiev, P., *Istoria na bŭlgarskia narod: 681-1323*, ed. V. Gijuzelev, Sofia, 1986 (repr. 1992, 1995). *Kniga za bŭlgarite* (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bŭlgarskata Akademia na Naukite, 1987, repr. 1999). *Iztok i Zapad v evropejskoto srednovekovie: izbrano* (Sofia: I.K. Christo Botev, 1993). *Leksii po istoria na kulturenata* (Sofia: Anubis, 1995). *Leksii po istoria na Vizantia* (Sofia: Anubis, 1995). *Dobrudzha v minaloto: Bŭlgari i rumŭni v istoriata na dunavskite zemi*, Sofia, 1999.

Zlatarski's discourse at the beginning of the twentieth century. If one takes the Miroslav Hroch's attempt to establish a typology of national histories, the case of Bulgaria falls in the category of national histories, which deal with a discontinuous history of statehood and can refer mainly to historical memory and myths. In contrast, Zlatarski supported the opposite view: that Bulgaria could refer back to a continuous statehood, even though interrupted for long periods. The insistence on the continuity of state tradition had various consequences. It has led to a distorted view of the constructions of collective identity, which Bulgarians possessed at different periods.

In many respects, the studies of Zlatarski were a continuation of the invention of national history of Bulgaria, which had already begun to take shape in the nineteenth century. Because the interests of Zlatarski were initially focused in the earliest period of the Bulgarian state, he contributed to the complex foundation of the myth of the nation. This myth represented the creation of the Bulgarian nation as a result of a union between two different or 'dualistic', as Zlatarski puts it, ethnic elements, the Slavs and Proto-Bulgars in the seventh century. The synthesis between these two elements was a specific phenomenon, but the creation of the Bulgarian nation became a reality only after the adoption of Christianity.

One could certainly affirm that during the first period of the First Kingdom there was a *Bulgarian state* but there was not a *Bulgarian nation* with strictly defined cultural beginnings and specific lifestyle, which would define it as one entity, as a specific nationality, and, at the same time, would provide its essential historic mission. The invention of these cultural beginnings in relation to these two terms *Bulgarian state* and *Bulgarian nation*, in which the Slavic element was dominant, started as soon as the middle of IX century, when the sound foundation of the Bulgarian political and national unity was made⁷.

Apparently, Zlatarski belonged to the group of historians who adhered to 'romantic nationalism' and were convinced that culture, lifestyle and institutions are expressions of 'spirit' of the nation. He does not provide a strict formulation of the special mission of the Bulgarian nation. However, he treats with special attention the Christianisation of Bulgaria, presenting the special position of Bulgaria at the crossroads between East and West. In fact, Zlatarski is presenting the adoption of Orthodoxy as a binding element of the nation which would continue to play a role throughout the history of Bulgaria. For

7. V. Zlatarski, *Istoria na bŭlgarskata dŭrzhava prez srednite vekove*, vol. I, part I, (Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, 1970) p. 447.

this reason, the main actors in his narrative are the kings of the state and the Orthodox Church, but the emphasis remains on the political rather than ecclesiastical history. Thus, Zlatarski minimises the rifts in Bulgarian Statehood in order to secure continuity; however, he does not exclusively elaborate on the view that in periods of rupture the church would be the institution responsible for providing continuity to tradition.

The works of Zlatarski were tested against two major political changes in Modern Bulgarian history: the establishment of the Communist regime in 1944 and the beginning of democratic changes in 1989. In these two periods of transition, when the old hegemonies of the past were contested, the historians inevitably turned to the legacy of Zlatarski. As it was already said, the Communist regime initially refrained from citing Zlatarski's ideas, but failed to produce counter narratives that offered any alternative discourse to Zlatarski's ideologies. Instead of eradicating Zlatarski and his views, the status quo unwittingly enhanced some of the ideas of Zlatarski and other scholars of his generation, thus providing new ideological interpretations for the times.

The next project of writing a synthesis of Bulgarian history was initiated in the 1970's. It was, in fact, one of the events from the propaganda to celebrate the 1300th anniversary of the Bulgarian state in 1981. The decision to publish this history was taken up by Todor Zhivkov, the communist leader of Bulgaria 1954-1989, in the Tenth Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party with the approval party's Central Committee. The coordination of the project was entrusted to a specially created Center of History at the Institute of History at the Bulgarian Academy of Science. The initial plan was to present the history of Bulgaria in fourteen volumes: one on Ancient and Prehistoric times; two on the Middle Ages: one on the Ottoman rule; two on the period of national Revival; five on the period of capitalism; and, finally, three volumes on the period after the victory of the Socialist revolution. The result of this initiative was an elaborate edition in eight volumes entitled *History of Bulgaria*, which was prepared by the leading specialists of the time and contained full bibliography and rich illustrative material. The first volume appeared in 1979, but for numerous reasons the project was not executed according to the initial plans. The seventh volume came out in 1991 and the next and last one, in 1996.

Despite the heavy rhetoric, this project followed the outlines created by Zlatarski rendering specificity and continuity to the national past. However, many topics, which Zlatarski had already discussed in the *History of the Bulgarian State*, were now interpreted and used for ideological purposes. An

illustrative example is one of the most significant myths in Bulgarian society during the twentieth century the heresy of the Bogomils.

The dualistic religious sect of the Bogomils which originated from Bulgaria and have flourished in the Balkans between the tenth and the fifteenth century was a fusion of neo-Manichean doctrines imported especially from the Paulicians. Already in the time of Zlatarski, the Bogomils were regarded as a specific phenomenon of the medieval society in Bulgaria, which had an enduring impact and legacy on European Culture. The Bogomils were considered forerunners of Protestantism in their quality as predecessors and Eastern counterparts of the Cathars and the Albigensians. A definite answer on the actual connections between these dualistic movements during the Middle Ages can be established with the discovery of new sources. However, the view that the Bogomils were related to the Protestants was a much older idea, which was elaborated by the theologians of the Catholic Reformation who aimed to expose their Protestant opponents as offshoots of an old heresy. Thus, one finds that the primary source on the Bogomil teachings – *Panoplia Dogmatike* composed in the twelfth century at the behest of Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) – is already interpreted in connection to the Protestants in the writings of prominent Jesuit theologians such as Peter Canisius (1521-1597), Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1534-1611), Antonio Possevino (1534-1611) and also Thomas Stapleton (1535-1598). Among the numerous examples is also the testimony of Leonardus Lessius (1554-1623) in *De Antichristo Et Eius Praecursoribus* (1611) where the Bogomils are briefly mentioned in a line with the teachings of Berengar as precursors of Protestantism.

Without taking into account the origins of this perception, the Bulgarian intellectuals readily embraced the idea of the connection between Bogomils and Protestants. Thus, the Bogomils became a subject both of scientific studies and literary fiction. At this background, Zlatarski gave a course on the Bogomilistic movement at the University of Sofia. The Bogomils are also present in the *History of the Bulgarian State*. What should be noted is that Zlatarski does not share the popular notions with regard to the significance and the impact of Bogomilistic teachings. He merely restricts himself to a presentation of the main Byzantine and Slavonic sources. Zlatarski does not analyse critically these sources but retells them. He treats the Bogomils as a specific Bulgarian phenomenon, but he does not give any concession to any non-scientific theories that were popular at the time.

The movement of the Bogomils retained its attractiveness during the time of Communist regime in Bulgaria with numerous studies being dedicated to

them. Its popularity provided the novel mass action with an ancient and credible historical foundation. The new class struggle saw itself mirrored in the Bogomil's struggle in the past. The Bogomil's dualistic teachings and their rejection of Christ's real presence in the Eucharist were simplistically interpreted as a rejection of the Orthodox Church, the authority at the time of the Bogomils. The new mass action found in this Bogomil-Orthodox Church dialectics a representation of its own dialectics. The modern socialists saw in the Bogomils a type, a proto-socialist with modern ideas and lasting contributions. This biased presentation, however, does not provide an alternative history. It only strengthens and makes over-interpretation of some of the ideas which were derived from the works of Zlatarski and other historians of his generation.

It was just at end of the twentieth century that, on the basis of the primary sources, the scholar of Bulgarian origin Yury Stoyanov could write a thorough and appropriately cautious study on the Bogomils using extensively the rich secondary literature on the topic and the tradition of Bulgarian historiography for the establishment of which Zlatarski has greatly contributed⁸.

In conclusion, the studies of Zlatarski, as the first systematic presentation of Medieval Bulgarian history, exerted significant influence over the succeeding generations of Bulgarian Medievalists. These studies were a continuation of the invention of the national history of Bulgaria, which was in its inception in the 19th century. Although many of his scientific results are nowadays outdated by more recent studies, Bulgarian history is still represented in the monumental outlines present in Zlatarski's work. On a personal level, the life of Zlatarski, to a greater extent, epitomises the fate of the Bulgarian intellectuals at the beginning of the twentieth century, who worked at the background of dynamic changes in the recently re-established Bulgarian state.

Chronology

1866. Vasil Zlatarski is born in Turnovo on the 14th of November.

1891. He obtains his Ph.D. from the University of St. Petersburg, with the dissertation entitled *The Letters of the Constantinopolitan Patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos to the Bulgarian Tsar Symeon*.

1893-1895. He specializes in archeology in Berlin.

1895. He teaches Bulgarian History at the Higher School in Sofia.

8. Y. Stoyanov, *The Other God: Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy* (New Heaven: Yale University, 2000).

1897. He is appointed Associate Professor at the Department of Bulgarian History of the Higher School.
1900. He becomes a member of the Bulgarian Learned Society.
1901. He is promoted to the position of Distinguished Professor of the Higher School.
1904. The Higher School becomes the University of Sofia.
- 1906-1907. He serves as Dean of University of Sofia.
1906. He is Professor at the Department of Bulgarian History and History of the Balkan People.
1911. Correspondent member of the Russian Academy of Science in St Petersburg.
1911. The Bulgarian Learned Society is transformed into the Bulgarian Academy of Science;
- 1911-1935. He serves as Chairman of the Bulgarian Historical Society, Sofia.
- 1913 -1914. He is Rector of the University of Sofia.
- 1919-1920. He is Dean of the University of Sofia.
- 1921-1935. He becomes the first Head of the newly established Department of Bulgarian History.
- 1921-1935. Head of the Unit of History and Philology of the Bulgarian Academy of Science.
- 1924-1925. He again serves as Rector of the University of Sofia.
- 1926-1935. He occupies the post of Vice President of the Bulgarian Academy of Science;.
1935. He dies on the 15th of December.

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J.R.R. Tolkien (1892 – 1973)

Eugenio M. Olivares Merino*

In the present paper I endeavor to explore the ways in which Tolkien conceived Medieval eighth century England –this being for him the date of composition of the Old English poem *Beowulf*–, as explicitly stated in his 1936 work “*Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics*” (henceforward, MC).¹ It is precisely in some of the ideas conveyed in this paper that we can attempt to recreate how Tolkien pictured Anglo-Saxon England at the time of its political, religious and cultural splendor. Furthermore, thanks to the work of Michael C. Drout (2002),² we now have access to Tolkien’s two drafts of the referred lecture (henceforward, [A] and [B]),³ so that all the ideas that are presented in MC (also those dealing with the external history of *Beowulf*) are fully illustrated in both.⁴ And yet, one of the main targets of Tolkien’s literary criticism on this poem –and on the literature written about it– is precisely to stress that the *Beowulf* poet was no historian and, also, that its interest as a historical document (which could not be denied) had to be subordinated to its poetic appeal.

* I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to Richard T. Meyer (Northridge Prep. School, Chicago) for his comments, suggestions and friendship.

1. On November 25 (1936) Tolkien delivered “*Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics*” as the Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture in front of the British Academy. It was originally published as a pamphlet on July 1, 1937 and then again on December 30, 1937 in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*: “*Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics*”, *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 22 (1937), 245-95. There have been several reprints since, *inter alia*: in *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism*, ed. by Lewis E. Nicholson (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963), pp. 51-103; in *The Monsters and the Critics and Other Essays*, ed. by Christopher Tolkien (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), pp. 5-48. All references to the article in this paper are taken from the *Proceedings*.

2. *Beowulf and the Critics by J.R.R. Tolkien*, ed. by Michael C. Drout, Medieval and Renaissance Text Studies 248 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002).

3. “*Beowulf & The Critics (A)*”, in *Beowulf and the Critics by J.R.R. Tolkien*, ed. by Michael C. Drout, Medieval and Renaissance Text Studies 248 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), pp. 31-78; “*Beowulf & The Critics (B)*”, in *Beowulf and the Critics by J.R.R. Tolkien*, ed. by Michael C. Drout, Medieval and Renaissance Text Studies 248 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002), p. 79-146.

4. Drout, p. 3.

The corpus upon which I will base my discussion of Tolkien's mental scenario of the *Age of Bede* is, as already stated, MC together with [A] and [B]. His letters also contain relevant information to complete the picture and,⁵ to a lesser degree, *The Lord of the Rings* (LOTR) as well.⁶

Tolkien and History

This is not a work of historical research; neither were those by J.R.R. Tolkien (1892-1973). Although he has become an icon of popular culture for his fictional works about Middle Earth and the three movies by Peter Jackson,⁷ Tolkien was also a brilliant scholar. His academic career as Professor of English was developed in the universities of Leeds and Oxford. Every now and then voices arise claiming that Tolkien did not produce enough research material, as he was too immersed in his narrative works. In any case, the truth is that his contribution to the study of Medieval English language and literature, even if allegedly scarce, is of paramount significance.⁸ No edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, the fourteenth century English Arthurian romance, has so far replaced E. V. Gordon and Tolkien's 1922 work.⁹ Similarly, Tolkien's MC can be seen as the pinnacle of twentieth century literary criticism on *Beowulf*. After 70 years, this paper is still a must for students and scholars who show an interest in this poem. Perhaps no other single academic article has been so instrumental in granting canonical status to a medieval piece of literature.¹⁰

5. *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. by Humphrey Carpenter (London: HarperCollins, 1981; repr. 1995).

6. J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings*, 3 vols (London: Unwin Paperbacks, 1954; rev. edn. 1966; repr. 1989).

7. *The Fellowship of the Ring* (2001); *The Two Towers* (2002); and *The Return of the King* (2003). It seems that by December 1st 2009 the first part of *The Hobbit* will be released in the U.S. by MGM and supported by New Line. However, there are serious doubts about whether or not Peter Jackson will direct the movie. There was also a 1978 animation movie, *The Lord of the Rings*, directed by Ralph Bakshi.

8. See Bruce Mitchell, 'J. R. R. Tolkien and Old English Studies: An Appreciation', *Mythlore*, 80 (1996), 206-212.

9. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press), Second edition revised by Norman Davis (Oxford: O. U. P., 1967; repr. 1979).

10. Among his other scholarly publications the following might be mentioned: *A Middle English Vocabulary* (1922); "*Ancrene Wisse* and *Hali Meidhad*" (1929); "Chaucer as a Philologist" (1934); "Prefatory Remarks on Prose Translation of *Beowulf*" (1940); *The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe: Ancrene Wisse* (1962); and "English and Welsh" (1963). Posthumously, other works have appeared such as *The Old English Exodus* (1982), the collection *The Monsters*

The word that best defines how Tolkien saw himself is “philologist”, a lover of language, both of its own accord and in its literary usages; “Lit. and Lang.”,¹¹ as he put it. In a letter to his son (21 February 1958) Christopher, then Lecturer of English at Oxford, Tolkien describes his impressions after attending his son’s presentation of the paper “Barbarians and Citizens”. The father saw himself as a different type of scholar, not so much keen on historical issues as his son (we may suppose): “All the same, I suddenly realized that I am a *pure* philologist. I like history, and am moved by it, but its finest moments for me are those in which it throws light on words and names!”¹² (The author’s emphasis).

So radical were Tolkien’s views on this issue that Drout sees himself obliged to exculpate the Professor of any charge of being a New Critic,¹³ a most abominable sin for modern literary criticism: “New Critical sentiments do not a New Critic make”.¹⁴ Tolkien’s attitude, Drout proceeds, has to be understood as a reaction to current approaches to *Beowulf* primarily as a historical document, a window into the past; to this, I shall return in brief. In fact, Tolkien had a real interest in the history of England, the history of his people.¹⁵ So much so that he dreamt about being able to travel back in time, back to the days when *Beowulf* was written, as stated in a letter to his son Christopher (18 January 1945): “I read till 11.50, browsing through the packed and to me enthralling pages of Stenton’s *Anglo-Saxon England*. A period mostly filled with most intriguing Question Marks. I’d give a bit for a time-machine”.¹⁶

and the Critics and Other Essays (1983) and *Finn and Hengest: The Fragment and the Episode* (1983). See Bibliography, 1. for full references.

11. See Tom Shippey, *The Road to Middle-Earth* (London: HarperCollins, 1982; rev. edn. 2005), pp. 1-31.

12. Carpenter, *The Letters*, p. 264.

13. New Criticism was the main school of literary criticism in the U.S. and England from the 1920s to the 1960s. Supporters of this trend claimed that the text is meaningful in itself, so much so that in the analysis of literary works extra-textual information is not relevant (close reading). This approach is no longer accepted for it is canonical, idiosyncratic and ideologically biased (moralistic).

14. Drout, p. 21.

15. The Professor could be quite critical (or cynical) about others’ historical knowledge. When invited to Birmingham to attend a lunch by the new headmaster of his old school, King Edward’s, he happened to meet an American. On April 3rd 1944 he wrote to his son Christopher: “but when I heard the Yank burbling about ‘Feudalism’ and its results on English class-distinctions and social behavior, I opened a broadside. The poor boob had not, of course, the very faintest notions about ‘Feudalism’, or history at all – being a chemical engineer. But you can’t knock ‘Feudalism’ out of an American’s head” (Carpenter, *The Letters*, p. 69).

16. Carpenter, *The Letters*, p. 108.

Tolkien had a genuine interest in history but, remembering that he was a trained philologist, the main sources from which the Professor came to shape his conception of Anglo-Saxon England were literary texts. To this, Sir Frank Merry Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943) would be a later contribution, since published six years after Tolkien delivered his conference at the British Academy.¹⁷ Designed as a volume of the Oxford History of England, Stenton's book is widely considered a classic history of the period, even if it is a bit dated.¹⁸ This is not the place to enter into a detailed discussion of this work, but already in Stenton's preface we see points of connection with some of Tolkien's views on the history of Anglo-Saxon England. For instance, Stenton considered that one of the main characteristics of the period was that in it the roots of a nation were established:

In political history the central interest of the following centuries is the evolution of an effective monarchy, covering all England, and overriding all the differences of race and custom which separated the various English peoples from one another, and the English people as a whole from the Scandinavian colonists of the North and East. This volume ends with the death of William the Conqueror, who in twenty years had transformed this memorial Germanic kingship into a pattern of feudal sovereignty.¹⁹

The *nationalistic* approach to Anglo-Saxon England, together with the emphasis on the rupture brought on by the Norman invasion, is also central in Tolkien's view of the period.

17. Frank M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: O. U. P., 1940; repr. 1947). Sir Frank M. Stenton (1880-1967) was Professor of Modern History at the University of Reading from 1912 to 1946 and Vice Chancellor of that University from 1946 to 1950. His major works are *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166* (1932) and *Anglo-Saxon England*. He also contributed to the Victoria county histories and studied English place names and coins. His wife, Lady Doris Stenton (1894-1971) was Lecturer, Senior Lecturer and Reader in History at the same University.

18. This book largely ignores the directions from which new ideas have come over the last half-century: from archaeology and from comparative historical studies of England's neighbours. Much more up-to-date accounts are: *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. by James Campbell (London: Phaidon, 1982); and, from a different perspective, Edward James, *Britain in the First Millennium* (London: Edward Arnold, 2001). Discussions of the origins of the various Angle and Saxon kingdoms can be found in *Origins of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, ed. by Steven Bassett (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1989); and in Barbara Yorke's *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Seaby, 1990). David P. Kirby, *The Earliest English Kings* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1991) is also very good, and particularly useful as a commentary on the information to be found in Bede's *History*.

19. Stenton, p. v.

Beowulf: The Blurred Window

Tolkien had developed a very special bond with this poem. In a letter to the editor of the *Observer* published on 20 February 1938, he openly admitted that *Beowulf* was among his “most valued sources”.²⁰ His familiarity with the Old English poem came from his days at King Edward’s, shortly after Master George Brewerton lent him an Anglo-Saxon primer.²¹ This text took him smoothly to *Beowulf*, which he first read in translation and then in Old English. It was “one of the most extraordinary poems of all time”.²² Right before he went to University, the TCBS (Tea Club Barrowian Society) was formed and *Beowulf* was a part of young Tolkien’s fixed repertoire at their meetings.²³ Nevertheless, when he started the first term in Oxford (1911), he read Classics at Exeter College. By 1913, however, following the advice of Dr. Farnell, Rector of Exeter, he began to read English at the Honour School of English Language and Literature. His specialization would be “Language”, in other words Philology, Old and Middle English. Tolkien, again and again, would read *Beowulf*.

The foremost authorities in *Beowulf* criticism during the 1930s were Friedrich Klaeber, Raymond W. Chambers and William W. Lawrence (“the reigning triarchy”), as Tolkien called them.²⁴ To a lesser degree, we should also include Archibald Strong and Ritchie Girvan and further back in time, William P. Ker and John Earle. All these names are mentioned in [A], [B] or MC, showing that he had indeed read “most (but not all) of those who had criticized it [*Beowulf*]”.²⁵ At the time when Tolkien was working on his lecture,²⁶ he was already in his middle forties, so MC is by no means a work of his youth, but the result of over twenty years of pondering about this Old English poem.

In MC, Tolkien refutes two common assumptions held in his days about *Beowulf*: First of all, that it was a historical document and, secondly, that the poem provided a picture “of historic Denmark or Geatland or Sweden about

20. Carpenter, *The Letters*, p. 31. See also Shippey, p. 388.

21. Humphrey Carpenter, *Tolkien. A Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1977), pp. 34-35.

22. Carpenter, *Tolkien*, p. 35.

23. Carpenter, *Tolkien*, p. 46.

24. Tolkien, [B], p. 105. Also “undivided trinity” (Tolkien, [B], p. 105).

25. Tolkien, MC, p. 245.

26. See Drout, pp. xvii-xix.

A. D. 500".²⁷ I will deal with these two issues respectively in this and the next section.

According to Drout, Archibald "Strong's approach to *Beowulf* summed up for Tolkien much that was wrong with *Beowulf* criticism".²⁸ In the introduction to his translation of the poem (1925), Strong explicitly declares:

The main theme of *Beowulf*, as we have seen, is the slaying of monsters by a hero: but this simple folk-tale is intricately interwoven with the narrative of deeds and sufferings which appear to be in large measure historical, and with such descriptions of customs, manners and beliefs as undoubtedly presents an *authentic picture of life in olden days among the Scandinavian and Teutonic tribes*. *Beowulf* himself, legendary though he be, enters into life around him, adopts its customs, and displays much of its spirit: so that in his doings no less than in those of Hrothgar and Hygelac, Hengest and Eadgils, may be found a genuine expression of this early world.²⁹ (my italics).

In the first draft of his conference ([A]), Tolkien profusely quotes Strong's words from *A Short History of English Literature*,³⁰ where the latter insists that "'*Beowulf* is the picture of a whole civilization, of the Germania which Tacitus describes. The main interest which the poem has for us is thus not a purely literary interest. *Beowulf* is an important historical document'".³¹

This approach was not only held by Strong. Leaving aside the massive tradition of nineteenth century *Beowulfiana* (which, in general terms, played very much on the same string),³² other contemporary critics shared the same view. Scholars insisted that *Beowulf* was some type of archeological site, most fitted for excavation in search of historical information.³³ As early as 1904, W.P. Ker had declared that *Beowulf* was "properly valued by historians",³⁴ for the real value of the poem (apart from "its dignity of style") was "in the his-

27. Tolkien, MC, p. 270.

28. Drout, p. 6.

29. Archibald Strong, *Beowulf Translated into Modern English Rhyming Verse* (London: Constable and Company, 1925), p. xli.

30. (London: Humphrey Milford for O.U.P., 1921), pp. 2-3.

31. Quoted in Tolkien, MC, p. 247.

32. See: "The German take-over", in *Beowulf. The Critical Heritage*, ed. by Tom Shippey and Andreas Haarder (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 36-37.

33. Tolkien, [B], p. 80.

34. William P. Ker, *The Dark Ages* (New York: Mentor Book, 1958), p. 161. This book was first published in 1904 (London: Blackwood and Sons).

torical allusions".³⁵ Later on (1912) he would justify the study of the poem for its "historical background".³⁶

A former student of Ker, Raymond W. Chambers declared in his *Foreword* to Strong's translation of the poem that *Beowulf* was "a picture of early Germanic society" and, consequently, he wished that English "historians had studied *Beowulf* more carefully".³⁷ Four years before, Chambers had published his massive *Beowulf. An Introduction* (1921),³⁸ which he opened with two chapters entitled respectively "The Historical Elements" and "The Non-Historical Elements".³⁹ All along the main body of the book and in the appendices, the author included genealogies, biographies of historical characters and, as new editions were printed, an increasing interest in archeological issues.

Klaeber's edition of the poem was published the next year (1922). The second and third sections of the introduction are an attempt to distinguish the supernatural from the historical elements in *Beowulf*. At a certain point of the third section, Klaeber explicitly states that it "is certainly not too much to say that our Anglo-Saxon epos is to be considered the oldest literary source of Scandinavian history".⁴⁰

Lawrence is the third name in the "international triumvirate", as Shippey refers to Chambers, Klaeber and the former.⁴¹ In the Preface to his 1928 *Beowulf and the Epic Tradition*, Lawrence declares:

its historical background affords an unrivalled picture of the early life of our pagan ancestors. Political and social conditions are as vividly and as truthfully set forth as if there were no demons lurking in the mists at nightfall, no dragon watching on the windy heights.⁴²

35. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, p. 162.

36. William P. Ker, *English Literature. Medieval* (London: Humphrey Milford for O. U. P., 1912; repr. 1945), p. 25.

37. Raymond W. Chambers, "Beowulf and the Heroic Age", in Archibald Strong, *Beowulf Translated into Modern English Rhyming Verse* (London: Constable and Company, 1925, vii-xxxii), p. xiii.

38. Raymond W. Chambers, *Beowulf. An Introduction to the Study of the Poem with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1921).

39. In the second edition (1932), a fifth part was added which again included two chapters with the same headings. The 3rd edition (1959) ended with the chapter entitled 'Historical and Legendary Matters'.

40. Friedrich Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finsburg* (New York, D. C. Heath and Co., Publishers, 1922), p. xxix.

41. Shippey and Haarder, p. 62.

42. William W. Lawrence, *Beowulf and Epic Tradition* (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1967), p. vii. The book was originally published in 1928 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U. P.).

Lawrence's work is divided into eight chapters, the first six of which deal with what we might call historical or history-related issues: "Peoples and Social Organization"; "The Tragedies of the Royal Houses"; "The Tale of Finnsburgh"; and "Scyld and Breca". The author's stance in these chapters is that in *Beowulf*, generally speaking, "History serves the purposes of epic and gives realism and dignity to popular story".⁴³ In the poem, says Lawrence, historical conditions have been elaborated with imagination, but remain "mainly realistic".⁴⁴ In some cases, as in the Finnsburgh episode, the narration becomes "purely realistic, with no *intrusion* of the supernatural, and with little epic exaggeration"; all in all, a *mirror of actual events* (my italics).⁴⁵ Although there are some exceptions to this (for in some sections of the poem "the supernatural is the essential part of the narrative"), after all "we come to grips [...] with fact".⁴⁶ As in his positive evaluation of the monsters' centrality in *Beowulf*,⁴⁷ I would like to emphasize that Lawrence was preparing the field for Tolkien, especially when saying that in the poem "history has become poetry".⁴⁸ Lawrence also wonders how the poet – in his natural "ignorance", as a man from "Northern England in the seventh or eighth centuries" – could know so accurately all of these historical facts about the Continental North two centuries earlier. The answer is common, but true: "through oral tradition in the main".⁴⁹

Tolkien certainly revered all the names that have been mentioned up to this point, and he agreed with many of the stances elsewhere expressed by these authors. But he was *killing* these *fathers* in order to find his own place in *Beowulfiana*.⁵⁰ Putting things in a nutshell, for him *Beowulf* was not a his-

43. Lawrence, p. 71.

44. Lawrence, p. 129.

45. Lawrence, p. 107.

46. Lawrence, p. 131.

47. See: Eugenio M. Olivares-Merino "A Monster that Matters: Tolkien's Grendel Revisited", in *Myth and Magic. Art according to the Inklings*, ed. by Eduardo Segura and Thomas Honegger (Zollikofen: Walking Tree Publishers, 2007, 187-240), pp. 199-201.

48. Lawrence, p. 31.

49. Lawrence, pp. 31-2.

50. As much as Tolkien despised Freudian approaches, Bloom's Oedipal frame to explain how great poets had worked out their own place in the canon seems to fit here, if only metaphorically: by killing the literary models they had followed, after a painful process of detachment; see: Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (Oxford: O. U. P., 1973).

torical document, but a poem. Quarrying was welcome; there was room for all, as long as "it is not mistaken for criticism".⁵¹

One last name deserves being included before finishing this revision: Ritchie Girvan. As I have stated elsewhere, his presence in MC must have been a last minute addition, since Tolkien does not refer to him in any of the previous two drafts.⁵² Professor Girvan delivered three lectures at University College, London, in March, 1935. These lectures were published as *Beowulf and the Seventh Century* (1935). Girvan, I would say, was rightly aiming at the target that Tolkien hit. At least, he was breaking away from the consensus that *Beowulf* was a window unto Tacitus' *Germania*, as Strong had concluded.⁵³ Girvan protested "against the view that *Beowulf* carries us directly to the Germanic pagan past".⁵⁴ Quite on the contrary, the poet "was describing things, practices, and habits familiar in his day"; in other words, "in *Beowulf* we move in surroundings essentially Anglo-Saxon".⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the story takes place in a very precise geographical location: the Island of Zealand and Southern Sweden. Besides, the names of kings, accounts of raids, feuds and lineages locate *Beowulf*'s deeds at a definite time. But Girvan, metaphorically referring to the poem as a picture, evaluates the relevance of the so-called *historical elements*: "the history is the frame and the background, and the canvas is occupied by a couple of folk-tales seemingly as old as humanity".⁵⁶ Though certainly frowning at the *couple of folk-tales*, Tolkien would have agreed when listening to this.⁵⁷ Girvan might later argue that the "Geat material" was closer to historical truth than that of the Danes, where accounts have been "distorted in the interest of poetry".⁵⁸ But even taken for granted the historical fidelity of the Geatic accounts, the poet's imagination was at work on them so much so that in "*Beowulf* the folk-tale *is* the story: all the rest is

51. Tolkien, [B], p. 84.

52. Olivares-Merino, p. 199.

53. But not a window unto Anglo-Saxon England, as Drout paraphrases Strong's words (p. 21).

54. Ritchie Girvan, *Beowulf and the Seventh Century. Language and Content* (London: Methuen & Co., 1935; repr. 1971), p. 32.

55. Girvan, p. 48.

56. Girvan, p. 57.

57. I suppose that Tolkien attended, at least, one of the three lectures. In MC, he writes: "In the final peroration of his notable lecture on *Folk-tale and History in Beowulf* given last year, [...]" (Tolkien, p. 254).

58. Girvan, p. 66.

incidental" (Girvan's italics).⁵⁹ I imagine Tolkien clapping, while thinking to himself with a smile: "The folk-tale again!"

To all the historians who had approached the poem, and also to the literary critics that had overstressed the historical nature of *Beowulf*, Tolkien replied:

The illusion of historical truth and perspective, that has made *Beowulf* seem such an attractive quarry, is largely a product of art. The author has used an instinctive historical sense—a part indeed of the ancient English temper (and not unconnected with its reputed melancholy), of which *Beowulf* is a supreme expression; but he has used it with a poetical and not an historical object.⁶⁰

It is true, as Stanley points out,⁶¹ that Tolkien's views on the Anglo-Saxon poem should not be seen "as the end of the first age of *Beowulf* scholarship, but the beginning of a new age". But in any case, I would like to emphasize that some of the conclusions that put him in the place of honor he occupies in *Beowulfiana* were already present in the works of his predecessors, "the learned and revered masters from whom we humbly derive", as Tolkien wrote.⁶² I would single out two: first, the subordination of historical materials to poetic intention, as already established by Lawrence; and, second, the relevance of Anglo-Saxon England for *Beowulf*'s landscape, as argued by Girvan.⁶³ In the next section of this paper, I will further develop this second aspect.

Tolkien's Anglo-Saxon England

For Tolkien, *Beowulf* was an English poem, written on English soil, by an English poet, for an English audience and, let me put it this way, in English. As such, it was part of the cultural inheritance of his people; it was his heritage and one that had to be recovered.

59. Girvan, p. 82.

60. Tolkien, MC, pp. 247-48.

61. Eric G. Stanley, *In the Foreground: Beowulf* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1994), p. 38.

62. Tolkien, MC, p. 250.

63. Another innovation usually attributed to Tolkien is the perception and evaluation of *Beowulf* as a poem. According to Stanley, "Levin Ludwig Schücking is, I think, the most distinguished critic of the art of the poem" (p. 33). We do not know whether or not Tolkien had read the latter's works in German, for he does not mention Schücking. In any case, as Stanley writes, "the display of foreign references belongs to later generations of scholarship, and silence need not mean ignorance" (Stanley, p. 37).

Beowulf and Eighth Century England

The fact that the story of *Beowulf* was located in a far away time and in a far away land did not imply that critics should, by all means, turn their eyes away from England to properly understand the poem. For Tolkien, as I have stated, *Beowulf* had been written in a unique historical moment (the *Age of Bede*),⁶⁴ one that had certainly left its imprint on the epic. "So regarded *Beowulf* is, of course, an historical document of the first order for the study of the mood and thought of the period and one perhaps too little used for the purpose by professed historians".⁶⁵ Such was the case with, for example, Dr. E.W. Watson and his essay *The Age of Bede in Bede, His Life, Times, and Writings*.⁶⁶ The anonymous poet had certainly placed the action of his poem in a precise geographical (Zealand and the Southern coast of Sweden) and historical setting (*in geardagum*), but he was recreating the past along the lines of his historical present, Anglo-Saxon England (as Girvan had so consistently argued): "Beowulf is primarily an English poem of a special period and not a Teutonic one" (Tolkien's underlining).⁶⁷ The poet, in his individuality, had filtered all the traditions at hand from the (also for him) remote Teutonic past.⁶⁸ The result was, therefore, Christian Anglo-Saxon, rather than Teutonic (or even Teutonic with a superficial Christian coloring). I have always enjoyed the striking coincidence that exists between the geography of *Beowulf* and that of another most famous English literary work, *Hamlet*, where the setting is Medieval Elsinore, also in the island of Zealand.⁶⁹ England seems to be

64. "I accept without argument throughout the attribution of *Beowulf* to 'the age of Bede'" (Tolkien, MC, p. 262). This is not any longer an opinion to be accepted *without argumentation*, especially after the publication of Colin Chase's *The Dating of Beowulf*, 1st edn 1981, and reissued with an introduction by Nicholas P. Howe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997). In any case, the question of *Beowulf*'s date of composition is still open to debate.

65. Tolkien, MC, p. 262.

66. Ed. by A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1935).

67. Tolkien, [B], p. 86.

68. Tolkien, [B], p. 87.

69. The city of Helsingør (also called Elsinore) lies on the northeast coast of Sjælland (Zealand), at the narrowest part of The Sound (Øresund) opposite Hälsingborg, Sweden. In Medieval times, when a toll for crossing The Sound was introduced, Helsingør, which had been a trading community since the 13th century, was granted a charter (1426) and prospered until the abolition of the toll in 1857. Kronborg Castle, the Elsinore Castle of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, was built in Helsingør between 1574 and 1585 by Frederick II in Dutch Renaissance style to replace an earlier fortress; its design was altered by Christian IV after a fire in the 17th century. The castle played a major role in the collection of the toll.

absent from both stories⁷⁰. In light of this, Tolkien (who “cordially” disliked Shakespeare) might very well protest that *Hamlet* had always been considered 100% an English literary work. The landscape of the tragedy was simply that, a decorated curtain, against which the characters evolved, but never the ultimate goal of literary criticism or even less a clue to understand the spirit of the tragedy.

Were all medieval English literature swept away, but for a few scraps, and the allusions and stories in the plays of Shakespeare –even perhaps what survives of medieval temper in those plays, it would still be untrue to say that the works of Shakespeare were “the largest body of medieval poetry that has come down to us.”⁷¹

Similarly, the anonymous poet had arranged a scenario for his poem, using the traditions he remembered combined with several historical data to place the story within the precise temporal context he was recreating. The remaining gaps were filled with the habits, modes and usages of his own epoch:⁷² “But it is (if with certain minor defects) on a general view a self-consistent picture, a construction bearing clearly the marks of design and thought.”⁷³ This was a common habit for mediaeval artists. Because they lacked, in general terms, the visual information to recreate the past, they reconstructed it with their own moulds. And so, close to the end of the English Middle Ages we find Chaucer imagining Troy in *Troilus and Cryseide* in the refined courtly atmosphere of fourteenth century London. C. S. Lewis’s lucid words further illustrate this point: “For us the past is, before else, a ‘costume play’. [...] they [the medieval people] pictured the whole past in terms of their own age”;⁷⁴ in this way, it was closer.

However, the *Beowulf* poet specifies in the very first line of his poem that the events he is going to narrate take place in a far away time, *in geardagum*. The distance is wider since it was felt, rather than in terms of centuries, at a deeper and more essential level: those were pagan times. In his description of

70. In *Hamlet*, England is only mentioned as the place where the Danish Prince is sent to die.

71. Tolkien, [A], p. 37. A similar statement is made in [B], p. 86.

72. Even in the assumed historical facts, Tolkien warned that “its [*Beowulf*’s] historical value is dubious and debatable, and needs in any case much independent exterior evidence for its appreciation” (Tolkien, [B], pp. 84-5).

73. Tolkien, MC, p. 270.

74. Clive S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image. An Introduction to Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: C. U. P., 1964; Canto edition 1994), p.183.

the Danes,⁷⁵ the poet establishes the qualitative difference that detaches him and his audience from the former:

Hwilum hie geheton æt hægtrafum
 Wigweorþunga wordum bædon
 þæt him gastbona geoce gefremede
 wið þeodþreaum. Swylc wæs þeaw hyra,
 hæþenra hyht; helle gemundon
 in modsefan, Metod hie ne cuþon,
 dæda demend, ne wiston hie Drihten God,
 ne hie huru heofena Helm herian ne cuþon,
 wuldres Waldend. (ll. 175-83)⁷⁶

In conclusion, for Tolkien the most relevant external point of reference for *Beowulf* was eighth century England, although the poet had provided his audiences with a readily recognizable scenario, an “illusion of historical truth and perspective”.⁷⁷

Tolkien's Visual Landscape

But how did Tolkien re-create eighth century England? As it has been argued, that precise historical moment can be visualized through the inhabitants of Rohan in *LOTR*. As Shippey points out, the Rohirrim's language is Old English and they mourn their dead in Alliterative line (the typical versification of the Anglo-Saxons).⁷⁸ A passage from *The Two Towers* has often been quoted in this sense; Aragorn says: “They [the Rohirrim] are proud and willful, but they are true-hearted, generous in thought and deed; bold but not cruel; wise but unlearned, writing no books but singing many songs”.⁷⁹ Though the parallel is, in general terms, quite helpful, Tolkien refuted such a minutely

75. All quotations from the poem are taken from Friedrich Klaeber's edition: *Beowulf and the Fight at Finsburg* (New York: D. C. Heath and Co., Publishers, 1922). For a translation into modern English, I have used: *Beowulf. A New Verse Translation*, ed. and trans. by Roy M. Liuzza (Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2000).

76. “At times they offered honor to idols / at pagan temples, prayed aloud / that the soul-slayer [Satan] might offer assistance / in the country's distress. Such was their custom, / the hope of heathens –they remembered hell / in their minds, they did not know the Maker, / the Judge of deeds, they did not know the Lord God, / or even how to praise the heavenly Protector, / Wielder of glory”. (Liuzza, pp. 58-9).

77. Tolkien, [B], p. 85.

78. Shippey, pp. 130ff, 142-43.

79. Tolkien, *The Two Towers*, p. 34. Tolkien, however, claimed that the Rohirrim only resembled the Anglo-Saxons “in a general way due to their circumstances: a simpler and more

detailed equation. In this sense, Shippey brings out one clear difference between these two cultures: whereas the Riders of Rohan are, precisely, *riders*, the Anglo-Saxons showed very little concern for horses in warfare.⁸⁰ Besides, there is something else. Apart from the obvious difference that eighth century Anglo-Saxons were Christian while the Rohirrim were not, Tolkien never imagined the former at the time when *Beowulf* was written as *unlearned* or *writing no books*. These might very well be referred to their heathen ancestors, newly arrived to England, or riding across the continental plains, sometime before they entered into contact with Christian and Classical learning and learnt to write. And so Shippey concludes that “the Rohirrim are not to be equated with the Anglo-Saxons of history, but with those of poetry, or legend”;⁸¹ in other words, the Danes or Geats in *Beowulf*, great lovers of the songs of the *scop*, but writing not a single line and completely alien to Revelation.

For its visual and material aspects (the warriors’ appearance, their armor and weapons, their architecture, their clothes,...), Tolkien would surely remember –let me quote again from his friend C. S. Lewis – his earliest illustrated books: “From our earliest picture-books we learn the difference in clothes, weapons, furniture and architecture. We cannot remember in our lives any historical knowledge earlier than this”.⁸² Carpenter singles out some of these books:

He [Tolkien] was even more pleased by the “Curdie” books of George Macdonald, which were set in a remote kingdom where misshapen and malevolent goblins lurked beneath the mountains. The Arthurian legends also excited him. But most of all he found delight in the Fairy Books of Andrew Lang, especially the Red Fairy Book, for tucked away in its closing pages was the best story he had ever read. This was the tale of Sigurd who slew the dragon Fafnir: a strange and powerful tale set in the nameless North.⁸³

primitive people living in contact with a higher and more venerable culture, and occupying lands that had once been part of its domain” (quoted in Shippey, p. 140).

80. Shippey, p. 140.

81. Shippey, p. 141.

82. Lewis, pp. 182-83.

83. Carpenter, *Tolkien*, p. 22. George MacDonald (1824-1905) was a Scottish author, poet, and Christian minister. Though no longer well known, his works (particularly his fairy tales and fantasy novels) have inspired admiration in such notables as W. H. Auden, J. R. R. Tolkien, or C. S. Lewis. Andrew Lang (1844-1912) was a prolific Scots man of letters. He was a poet, novelist, and literary critic, and contributor to anthropology. He now is best known as a collector of folk and fairy tales. He was educated at Selkirk grammar school, and at the Edinburgh Academy, St Andrews University and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he

For Tolkien, England was part of this *nameless North*. One of the editions of the last book Carpenter mentions (*The Red Book of Fairies*) was reissued in 1907,⁸⁴ with illustrations by Henry J. Ford and Lancelot Speed.⁸⁵ Though just the plates illustrating “The Story of Sigurd” could properly be identified with a Northern atmosphere (see Plates A), most of the other pictures have a clear medieval *savoir*. Illustrations in other of Lang’s books might have also contributed to picture Medieval England in the mind of the boy Tolkien (see Plates B). And so, in its aesthetic aspects, Tolkien might have produced an idealized picture of an epoch he never lived in with a high dose of melancholy,⁸⁶ as much as every one of us has a personal mental landscape of the different epochs.⁸⁷

The Mood of the Period

Tolkien obviously knew there was much more to the Medieval period apart from more or less aesthetic recreations, as there was much more to the poem *Beowulf* than killing monsters and to *LOTR* than Frodo’s journey to Mount Doom. In the last part of this section I will present Tolkien’s conception of the essential aspects of eighth century England, the so called *esprit du temp*.

Drout concludes that Tolkien’s synthesis of Anglo-Saxon England, as developed in his MC, “is very much an ‘invention’ of the Middle Ages as dis-

became a fellow and subsequently honorary fellow of Merton College. As a journalist, poet, critic and historian, he soon made a reputation as one of the ablest and most versatile writers of the day.

84. *The Red Book of Fairies*, ed. by Andrew Lang, (Longmans, Greens, and Co: New York, 1907).

85. H. J. Ford (1860-1940) is best known for his illustrations in Andrew Lang’s series of twelve *Colored Fairy Books* (1889-1910). Born in London, Ford received a degree in Classics from Cambridge. After graduation, he studied at the Slade School of Art. He was a friend of Edward Burne-Jones, one of the pre-eminent Pre-Raphaelites. In addition Ford also illustrated Lang’s *The Red True Story Book* (1895), *The Arabian Nights Entertainments* (1895) and *Pilgrim’s Progress* (1921). Lancelot Speed (1860-1931) was a famous Victorian illustrator of books, usually of a fantastical or romantic nature. He is probably most well-known for his illustrations for Andrew Lang’s fairy story books. Speed is credited as the designer for the 1916 silent movie version of the novel *She* by H. Rider Haggard, which he had illustrated.

86. On 24 February 1950, Tolkien wrote to Sir Stanley Unwin: “Unfortunately I am not an Anglo-Saxon” (Carpenter, *The Letters*, p. 136).

87. For those of us who have grown up in the second half of the twentieth century, there are other visual influences maybe much more powerful than our school books, such as comics, graphic novels and, above all, movies and television serials.

cussed by Norman Cantor (*Inventing the Middle Ages*, 31-47).⁸⁸ It seems that Tolkien's paper is being harassed by the same *monsters* that had pestered *Beowulf*. It should not be necessary to remind Tolkien's readers that neither MC, nor any of the two previous drafts ([A] or [B]) are pieces of historical research on Anglo-Saxon England. As a philologist, all his considerations sprang from the poem. However, because he saw an essential link between *Beowulf* and its historical background (not any kind of materialistic determinism or lack of universal appeal in the literary text, though), the poem is a precious document for a better understanding of the time in which it was written. In this way, it was essential to contrast the epic with its natural historical setting for, as much as history might cast light on the poem, the latter would certainly illuminate history.⁸⁹ Tolkien's words are straight forward when defining the task of the philologist: "it is the mood of the author, the essential cast of his imaginative apprehension of the world, that is my concern, not history for its own sake".⁹⁰

Despite the fact that historical sources might not be as many as scholars wished, literary texts were indeed relevant to discern the essence of the period: "We know much, if still too little, of early Anglo-Saxon history".⁹¹ And among these texts, *Beowulf*, preserved by chance or accident, was the longest poem surviving from the period and therefore a key document.

a. *Recovering a tradition*: Tolkien did not have a monolithic conception of Anglo-Saxon England as a homogeneous period of history; he knew that its early stage was peculiar and different from later developments. He refers to it as "the great day" or "the Great time of the Anglo-Saxon Christian spring".⁹² There is little doubt, in this sense, that at the time of Bede, Alcuin or Adhelm, "English schools were among the finest in Europe",⁹³ so much so that these and other scholars were the very vanguard of knowledge in the Western world.

All this seems to give Drout room enough to conclude that "Tolkien wished for a revival of what he saw as the best parts of the culture" of that Golden Age: "the strength of faith, the willingness to confront the dark, the

88. Drout, p. 20.

89. Tolkien, [B], p. 88.

90. Tolkien, MC, p. 262.

91. Tolkien, [B], p. 87.

92. Tolkien, [A], p. 39; Tolkien, [B], p. 88.

93. Patrizia Lendinara, "The World of Anglo-Saxon Learning", in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1991, 264-81), p. 264.

fortitude in the face of death".⁹⁴ I do not quite like this assertion as it might convey – and I do not imply that Drout meant this – that Tolkien shared that old and sterile assumption: that things in the past were always better than they are now. Tolkien was not a melancholic writer longing for a personal earthly heaven (both as a Catholic and a Philologist), a *paradise lost* of culture and spirituality. His real Eden, the one which he dramatically lost with his mother's death, was the country landscapes of Worcester and Suffield, or the fields around Sarehole Mill.⁹⁵ But in this, he was like most human beings: a man's only homeland is his childhood, as said by Rainer Maria Rilke.

In any case Tolkien did want to recover for England its Anglo-Saxon traditions, which were much more essential to its identity than the Celtic element, not to mention the French influence after the Norman Conquest. The centrality of the Germanic element for this author (which could be perceived as artificial or forced) is after all a matter of election or taste.⁹⁶ Tolkien saw England as part of the big *North*, originally different from the Southern Mediterranean world. And yet, this distinctive quality had gradually vanished after the Battle of Hastings (1066): "[...] the language had changed and the lineage had been broken. Direct inheritance by blood was no longer possible. Englishmen had forgotten the names of their forefathers, or these names had changed beyond recognition".⁹⁷ For Tolkien, however, different as it was from the language he spoke (and in general terms incomprehensible for most of his fellow Englishmen), the language of *Beowulf* was basically English: "Yet it [the poem] is in fact written in a language that after many centuries has still essential kinship with our own".⁹⁸ Old English, therefore, was the real and only window into the historical moment in which *Beowulf* was composed and so, by recovering that language, he would be re-presenting (making present once more) the Anglo-Saxon tradition.

b. *The North and the Nazis*: Tolkien's thoughts about the supremacy of the Germanic element in the genesis of his country might be reinterpreted with suspicion in an age like ours, one of (at times welcome) iconoclastic revision-

94. Drout, 26. Tolkien goes as far as saying that the revitalization of the Frankish Church, Frisia and large areas of Germany was due to the English, "to whom may thus be ascribed the foundation of the mediaeval church and Europe" (Tolkien, [B], p. 123).

95. Carpenter, *Tolkien*, pp. 19-20.

96. This option will be familiar for at least two generations of Spaniards, who grew up assimilating the prominence of the Visigoth roots of Spain, despite eight centuries of Islamic rule.

97. Drout, p. 18.

98. Tolkien, MC, p. 278.

ism, vindication and rewriting of the canon. In the above referred letter to his son Christopher (18 January 1945), Tolkien wrote:

But of course my mind being what it is (and wholly different from Stenton's [*Anglo-Saxon England*]) it is the things of racial and linguistic significance that attract me and stick in my memory. Still, I hope one day you'll be able (if you wish) to delve into this intriguing story of the origins of our peculiar people. And indeed of us in particular.⁹⁹

Tolkien had matured and completed MC in the late 1930s, a time when Hitler's hostile pangermanism was more than a mere threat looming on the horizon for the world. It would be more than dangerous to use such terms as *racial*, *our peculiar people* or *of us in particular* in a letter written in the early days 1945.¹⁰⁰ By that time, the defeat of Nazi Germany was at hand, but in the next four months of war in the European battleground the abominations of the extermination camps would be made known to the world: the Red Army liberated Auschwitz in Poland precisely in January 1945. Obviously, Tolkien's son knew perfectly well how to take his father's words, much better than us, readers who have had access to his epistolary as late as 1981. Drout again plays the role of Tolkien's defence counsel, exculpating him of any possible racist sentiments.¹⁰¹ In any case, there is no need for that, as much as the unprejudiced reader will be able to find in Tolkien's epistolary enough material to conclude that the Professor was a sensitive and honorable man, who abhorred

99. Carpenter, *The Letters*, p. 108.

100. Tolkien's letter to his son Michael was written right after the German withdrawal from the Ardennes (1-17, January 1945). The Battle of the Bulge was the last massive offensive of the Wehrmacht. On 17 January 1945, Soviet troops occupied Warsaw.

101. Drout, pp. 11-13. A persistent criticism is that *The Lord of the Rings* is a racist text. A superficial glance at archetypal images in opposition (Good/Evil, Light/Dark, or West/East), plus an evaluation of Peter Jackson's recent movies has led John Yatt to conclude that "the races that Tolkien has put on the side of evil are then given a rag-bag of non-white characteristics that could have been copied straight from a BNP [British National Party] leaflet. Dark, slant-eyed, swarthy, broad-faced – it's amazing he doesn't go the whole hog and give them a natural sense of rhythm" ("Wraiths and Race", *Guardian Unlimited* (December 2, 2002). [Available at: <http://film.guardian.co.uk/lordoftherings/news/0,11016,852217,00.html>]). In fact, Yatt's seems to be rather concerned with Jackson's aesthetics than with the book itself. For a rather lucid rejection of accusations of this kind on Tolkien, see: Jessica Yates, "Tolkien the Anti-Totalitarian", in *Proceedings of the J.R.R. Tolkien Centenary Conference* (Keble College, Oxford, 1992), ed. by Patricia Reynolds and Glen H. GoodKnight (Altadena, CA: The Tolkien Society and The Mythopoeic Society, 1995, 233-45). Joseph Pearce's *Tolkien: Man and Myth* (London. Harper Collins, 1998) also deals extensively with this issue, as well as with others, such as Tolkien's alleged imperialism or fascism (Chapter 8).

racism –not to mention the Nazi madness.¹⁰² At a time when the *Furor Teutonicus* was about to strike Great Britain, Tolkien clearly stated his views on the present issue, a balanced perception (but never an ideological contradiction). His words are from a letter to his son Michael (9 June 1941); the excerpt is long, but deserves full quotation:

People in this land seem not even yet to realize that in the Germans we have enemies whose virtues (and they are virtues) of obedience and patriotism are greater than ours in the mass. Whose brave men are just about as brave as ours. Whose industry is about 10 times greater. And who are –under the curse of God – now led by a man inspired by a mad, whirlwind, devil: a typhoon, a passion: that makes the poor old Kaiser look like an old woman knitting.

I have spent most of my life, since I was your age, studying Germanic matters (in the general sense that includes England and Scandinavia). There is a great deal more force (and truth) than ignorant people imagine in the “Germanic” ideal. I was much attracted by it as an undergraduate (when Hitler was, I suppose, dabbling in paint, and had not heard of it), in reaction against the “Classics”. You have to understand the good in things, to detect the real evil. But no one ever calls on me to “broadcast”, or do a postscript! Yet I suppose I know better than most what is the truth about this “Nordic”

102. Allen & Unwin had negotiated the publication of a German translation of *The Hobbit* with Rütten & Loening Verlag of Potsdam. The German publishers were *cautious* enough as to ask Tolkien if he was of *arisch* (aryan) origin. In his letter to Stanley Unwin (25 July 1938), the author shows his uneasiness with the question: “Do I suffer this impertinence because of the possession of a German name, or do their lunatic laws require a certificate of ‘arisch’ origin from all persons of all countries? Personally I should be inclined to refuse to give any *Bestätigung* [confirmation] (although it happens that I can), and let a German translation go hang. In any case I should object strongly to any such declaration appearing in print. I do not regard the (probable) absence of all Jewish blood as necessarily honourable; and I have many Jewish friends, and should regret giving any colour to the notion that I subscribed to the wholly pernicious and unscientific race-doctrine” (Carpenter, *The Letters*, p. 37). Tolkien went as far as writing to his German editors-to-be (25 July 1938): “Thank you for your letter. I regret that I am not clear as to what you intend by *arisch*. I am not of *Aryan* extraction: that is Indo-iranian; as far as I am aware none of my ancestors spoke Flindustani, Persian, Gypsy, or any related dialects. But if I am to understand that you are enquiring whether I am of *Jewish* origin, I can only reply that I regret that I appear to have *no* ancestors of that gifted people. My great-great-grandfather came to England in the eighteenth century from Germany: the main part of my descent is therefore purely English, and I am an English subject – which should be sufficient. I have been accustomed, nonetheless, to regard my German name with pride, and continued to do so throughout the period of the late regrettable war, in which I served in the English army. I cannot, however, forbear to comment that if impertinent and irrelevant inquiries of this sort are to become the rule in matters of literature, then the time is not far distant when a German name will no longer be a source of pride” (Carpenter, *The Letters*, pp. 37-8). Needless to say that the German translation was not published... then.

nonsense. Anyway, I have in this War a burning private grudge – which would probably make me a better soldier at 49 than I was at 22: against that ruddy little ignoramus Adolf Hitler (for the odd thing about demonic inspiration and impetus is that it in no way enhances the purely intellectual stature: it chiefly affects the mere will). Ruining, perverting, misapplying, and making for ever accursed, that noble northern spirit, a supreme contribution to Europe, which I have ever loved, and tried to present in its true light. Nowhere, incidentally, was it nobler than in England, nor more early sanctified and Christianized.¹⁰³

I have purposely lingered on the present issue, though neither I nor most readers might consider necessary a refutation in these matters. Tolkien would always defend the Northern ideal, especially when infused with the novelty of Christianity. But this had nothing to do with Hitler (paradoxically, dark haired and below average height) and his biased paraphernalia of manipulation.

c. *The three Fs*: Coming back to our main line of argumentation, i.e. Tolkien's conception of eighth century England and, more precisely, the defining characteristics of the period, that Germanic ethos was often perceived as a heavy chain that tied the Anglo-Saxons to a past of barbarism, darkness and brutality. Such was the case, for example, in Jusserand's *Literary History of the English People*.¹⁰⁴ Quoting in exasperation from this text, Tolkien dismantles the French author's views with a certain dose of humor (at times sarcastic, a fact that is explained by the former's galophobia). According to Jusserand, the Anglo-Saxons were primitive drunkards, alternating between nihilistic desperation and orgies, mixing up the bogeys in their Northern traditions with the narrations of the Scripture; and yet, heroic enough as to rush into the battle ground, "harassed by the thought of death" –says Jusserand– in a frenzy of slaughter, and dying without a frown.¹⁰⁵ Tolkien adds: "This is nonsense [...] But we can hardly withhold admiration from these strange heroes, and sympathy for the convulsions they must have known in suffering harassment without allowing themselves to frown".¹⁰⁶

It is the same old story of the uncivilized barbarians, fearless (and probably inebriated, if I may say so) and happily dying with the promise of Valhalla.

103. Carpenter, *The Letters*, pp. 55-6.

104. J.J. Jusserand, *A Literary History of the English People from the Origins to the Renaissance*, Vol 1 (London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1895).

105. Quoted in Tolkien, [B], pp. 92-5.

106. Tolkien, [B], p. 95.

When not in the battleground, these warriors spent their days in permanent celebration, where beer ran freely and the blondes were easy. In the morning, desperation (a hangover?) paralyzed them. For these people, Christianity would be a meaningless code; there was no difference between Christ and Weland.¹⁰⁷ At this point, Tolkien changes comicalness for open contempt: “the magnificent gentleman [Jusserand] is after all a wandering idiot”.¹⁰⁸

Besides the fact that we do not have any accounts of orgies in Anglo-Saxon England, Jusserand’s other conclusions are romantic clichés, to say the least. This diagnosis of the epoch could well be summarized by the three Fs with which Western ethnocentrism seems to label all the old barbarians (Celts, Vikings, Slavs, Red-Skins, Australian aboriginals, or Tartars): **Fighting, Feasting and Fornicating**. In fact, Jusserand was not the only one to view Anglo-Saxon England from such a simplistic perspective. In a letter written on 27 July 1938 to John Mansfield, then poet laureate, we find Tolkien again refuting the same stereotypes, though coming this time from a contemporary fellow countryman:

I might perhaps say that these lines [sent by Mansfield to Tolkien] seem to me to allude to the erroneous imagination that Chaucer was the first English poet, and that before and except for him all was dumb and barbaric. This is of course not true [...]. I do not personally connect the North with either night or darkness, especially not in England, in whose long 1200 years of literary tradition Chaucer stands rather in the middle than the beginning.¹⁰⁹

These words lead us into the next section.

The Fusion

St. Augustine’s mission to Britain (597 A. D.) marks the beginning of the Christianization of the island, a process narrated with profusion by the Venerable Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* (completed in 731).¹¹⁰ In a sense –and I do not know whether Tolkien would comply with

107. A legendary smith in Northern mythology.

108. Tolkien, [B], p. 95. This statement, though, was suppressed in MC.

109. Carpenter, *The Letters*, p. 39.

110. St Augustine’s mission in 597 converted Kent; but it had only temporary success in Essex, which reverted to heathenism in 616. A mission sent under Bishop Paulinus from Kent to Northumbria in 627 converted King Edwin and many of his subjects in Northumbria and Lindsey. It received a setback in 632 when Edwin was killed and Paulinus withdrew to Kent. About 630 Archbishop Honorius of Canterbury sent a Burgundian, Felix, to convert East Anglia, and the East Anglican church thenceforth remained faithful to Canterbury. Soon after, the West Saxons were converted by Birinus, who came from Rome. Meanwhile, King

this or not—, the Germanic heroic ideal had reached a stage in which no further development was possible. In the already referred “*Beowulf* and the Heroic Age in England”, Chambers illustrates the meeting of two worlds in the following terms (quoted by Tolkien):

In the epoch of *Beowulf* a Heroic Age more wild and primitive than that of Greece is brought into touch with Christendom, with the Sermon on the Mount, with Catholic theology and ideas of Heaven and Hell. [...] And so *Beowulf*, for all that he moves in the world of the primitive Heroic Age of the Germans, nevertheless is almost a Christian knight.¹¹¹

While not fully agreeing with his source (for he never saw *Beowulf* as *almost a Christian knight*), Tolkien saw the *Age of Bede* as a moment of gradual transition, *fusion* (but never confusion). A process in which, as much as Christianity reoriented many of the modes and attitudes of the Northern world, it also endured a certain natural mutation, for those who had converted to the new religion were men of their time, heirs of a certain culture, who adapted the faith to their own idiosyncrasy. In the past decade, James C. Russell claimed that when the Germanic world met early medieval Christendom, Christianity went through a process of “Germanization”:¹¹² “the Germanic warrior ethos had come to inform early Anglo-Saxon expressions of Christian asceticism and episcopal activity while Christian motives and interpretations were imposed upon the military activities of Anglo-Saxon kings”.¹¹³ This blending is what Tolkien labeled *the mediaeval*: “Christianity

Oswald began to restore Christianity in Northumbria, bringing Celtic missionaries from Iona. And it was the Celtic church that began in 653 to spread the faith among the Middle Angles, the Mercians, and the peoples of the Severn valley; it also won back Essex, Sussex and the Isle of Wight –the last outposts of heathenism –were converted by Bishop Wilfrid and his followers from 681 to 687. The Anglo-Saxons attributed their conversion to Pope Gregory I, “the Apostle of the English”, who had sent Augustine. This may seem less than fair to the Celtic mission. The Celtic church made a great impression by its asceticism, fervor, and simplicity and it had a lasting influence on scholarship. At first there was little friction between the Roman and Celtic missions. Later, however, differences in usage caused controversy, which was settled in favor of the Roman party at the Synod of Whitby (664). This made possible a form of organization better fitted for permanent needs than the looser system of the Celtic church.

111. Tolkien, MC, p. 261–62. Originally in Chambers, “*Beowulf* and the Heroic Age in England”, pp. xxviii–xxix.

112. See: James C. Russell, *The Germanization of Early Medieval Christianity: A Sociobistorical Approach to Religious Transformation*, (New York and Oxford: O. U. P., 1994).

113. Quoted from Kent G. Hare, “Christian Heroism and the West Saxon Achievement: The Old English Poetic Evidence”, *Medieval Forum* 4 (2004). [Available at: <http://film.guardian.co.uk/lordoftherings/news/0,11016,852217,00.html>]

infused into the Northern world (if we consider England), or the infusion of the North into the southern world (if we consider Europe more generally) make(s) what we call the mediaeval" (Tolkien's emphasis).¹¹⁴

In *Beowulf*, however, this alchemy has not been fully achieved. The poet and his audience were Christians indeed, but the pathos that depicts the heathen characters remains intact, being even more dramatic when described by an artist who knew there was more to life than what they could understand.

A Theory of Courage

Christianity meets the Northern world at a time when the heroic ideal was ripe for the former. The Germanic warrior's ethos was impregnated with poignant pessimism, a logical outcome of the assumption that chaos always lies at the end of the journey. The conviction that everyman's battle will be lost is consistent with the belief that gods are doomed too. To complete this picture, heaven and earth will also disappear in the end after the *ragnarökr* (the twilight of the gods). Man's response to that somber conviction is "the assertion of the individual freedom against all terrors and temptations of the world. It is absolute resistance, perfect because without hope".¹¹⁵ Tolkien draws largely from this section and adds little to it, if only to emphasize that this "creed of resistance",¹¹⁶ this naked heroism, is the great contribution of early Northern literature.¹¹⁷

As attractive as this idea is – for all it implies of courage and individualism – it cannot be further developed. Resistance is not therefore a means to achieve a greater good, but it becomes rather an end in itself and as such, "it is absolutely impregnable".¹¹⁸ This *fortitudo* was, according to R.E. Kasse (1963),¹¹⁹ one of the two central themes in *Beowulf*. When the hero is waiting for Grendel to come (with his company of men, but in fact alone), as much as he boasts about his strength, he is nevertheless aware of the possibility of being defeated (ll. 677-87). At this early part of the poem, the hero's companions best illustrate the code of hopeless resistance; since it is shameful for a

114. Tolkien, [B], p. 119.

115. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, p. 44.

116. Tolkien, [B], p. 119.

117. Tolkien, MC, p. 262.

118. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, p. 44.

119. Robert E. Kasse, "Sapientia et Fortitudo as the Controlling Theme of *Beowulf*", in *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism*, ed. by Lewis E. Nicholson (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963, 269-310).

thane to escape death if his lord has been killed, they are all doomed for Beowulf has not a single option to defeat the monster:

Nænig heora þohte þæt he þanon scolde
eft eardlufan æfre gesecean,
folc oþðe freoburh, þær he afeded wæs;
ac hie hæfdon gefrunen þæt hie ær to fela micles
in þæm winsele wældeað fornam,
Denigea leode. (ll. 691-96)¹²⁰

This is not what I call *blind followers*: these warriors took for granted their imminent failure, and yet no one abandoned Beowulf who, at least for the moment, achieves victory. In the second part of the poem, the hero has aged dramatically. However, he decides to face the Dragon that is destroying his kingdom and slaughtering his people. The voice of the narrator soon lets readers know that Beowulf will die, something that the hero also seems to anticipate. And yet, this old king will not stand back, not even when all his retainers (but Wiglaf) run away for their lives, or when his blade fails to pierce the Beast's skin. Save for the fact that Beowulf finally kills the dragon, his end could not be more dramatic: his companions abandon him, his sword fails, and he needs Wiglaf's help to slay the Dragon. This, however, is no surprise for the audience of the poem; as Tolkien concludes: "By now we are supposed to have grasped the plan. Disaster is foreboded. Defeat is the theme. Triumph over the foes of man's precarious fortress is over, and we approach slowly and reluctantly the inevitable Victory of death."¹²¹

This notion of endurance and fortitude against all odds, especially when there seems to be no earthly reward, was certainly welcome for Christian ethics as a suitable basis upon which spiritual warfare, for example, could be taught.¹²² Together with it, some other key concepts – such as the value of sacrifice and suffering – could also fit within this heroic model. And yet, the

120. "None of them thought that he should thence /
ever again seek again his own dear homeland, /
his tribe or the town in which he was raised, /
for they had heard it said that savage death /
had swept away far too many of the Danish folk /
in that wine-hall" (Liuzza, p. 74). Grendel, the foe, on the other hand illustrates a totally different behavior: as soon as he realizes that Beowulf is a real enemy, he tries to flee (ll. 754ff)

121. Tolkien, MC, p. 274.

122. *Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, ed. by S. A. James Bradley (London and Melbourne: Everyman's Library, 1982), p. xviii.

poet does not force a happy ending on *Beowulf*. The promise of eternal reward for those who have perished fulfilling their right duty cannot be granted in the poem, for the hero in all his nobility and heroism is completely foreign to Revelation.

The Elegiac Mood

The necessary consequence of these somber convictions about human life in the traditions of the heathen North was a painful distrust for all human achievements and glories, as much as they were ephemeral. Paradoxically, though, this could be manifested in "the intensity of the worldly attachment".¹²³ This is the case in *Beowulf*: in his agony, poisoned by the bite of the Fire-Drake, the hero insists on contemplating the Dragon's hoard before he dies; that is his final (useless) comfort (ll. 2743ff).

The two worlds, the pagan North and the Judeo-Christian South, apparently so different, had a link that would certainly facilitate the crossbreeding. The sad awareness that all earthly gains amount to nothing when confronted with the passing of time and its ultimate consequence (death and defeat, *wyrd*) was also a familiar motif for Christianity. And so, the Anglo-Saxons, sooner or later, learned the value of austerity ("a wise man should not be too greedy", says the narrator in *The Wanderer* (l. 68)) and Christianity would provide a lasting comfort: man has to look for the joys and rewards of eternal life. As Tolkien puts it: "man, each man and all men, and all their works shall die. A theme no Christian need despise".¹²⁴ The *Ubi Sunt* was continued and enlarged by the Christianized *Sic Transit Gloria Mundi*. An example that immediately comes to mind in order to illustrate this process is *The Wanderer*. The first stanza of the poem ends in a dramatic "Wyrd bi ful ared!" (l. 5), "fate is inexorable".¹²⁵ The mood of the narrator is sombre and gloomy, remembering his past moments of happiness, even more joyful since lost for ever:

Gemon he selesecgas ond sincþege,
 hu hine on geogues his goldwine
 wenede to wiste. Wyn eal gedreas!
 Forþon wat se þe sceal his winedryhtnes
 leofes larcwidum longe forþolian (ll. 34-8)¹²⁶

123. Bradley, p. 321.

124. Tolkien, MC, p. 265.

125. Bradley, p. 322.

126. "He recalls the men of the hall and the gift-receiving ceremonial, and how in his youth his generous lord entertained him at the banquet. Happiness has perished utterly. He under-

The *Ubi Sunt* model becomes explicit in lines 92ff:

“Hwær cwom mearg? Hwær cwom mago? Hwær cwom maþþumgyfa?
Hwær cwom symbla gesetu? Hwær sindon seledreamas?
Eala beorht bune! Eala byrnwiga!
Eala þeodnes þrym! Hu seo þrag gewat, (ll. 92-5) ¹²⁷

The last lines of the poem show how the narrator has learned the lesson. He is saved from despair by resorting to the only reality that remains forever:

Swa cwæ snottor on mode, gesæt him sundor æt rune.
Til biþ se þe his treowe gehealdeþ, ne sceal næfre his torn to rycene
beorn of his breostum acypan, nemþe he ær þa bote cunne,
eorl mid elne gefremman. Wel bi þam þe him are sece,
frofre to fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung stonde. (ll. 111-15) ¹²⁸

It must be stressed that in *Beowulf*, it is the voice of the Christian narrator that brings out these issues, never putting them in the hero's mouth. This would have been felt as strange, or too artificial. The change, as we said in the previous heading, is not completely achieved in *Beowulf*. Courage is defeated; the Hall of Heorot, where the Danes made their celebrations, will be destroyed by fire; the Geats will be exterminated after Beowulf's death:

As the poet looks back into the past, surveying the history of kings and warriors in the old traditions, he sees that all glory (or as we might say “culture” or “civilization”) ends in night. The solution of that tragedy is not treated—it does not arise out of the material. We get in fact a poem from a pregnant moment of poise, looking back into the pit, by a man learned in old tales who was struggling, as it were, to get a general view of them all, perceiving their

stands, therefore, who has to do without his beloved lord's guiding words for long” (Bradley, p. 323).

127. “Where has gone the steed? Where has gone the man? Where has gone the giver of treasure? Where has gone the place of the banquets? Where are the pleasures of the hall? Alas! The gleaming chalice; alas, the armoured warrior; alas, the majesty of the prince! Truly, that time has passed away[...].” (Bradley, p. 324). In a paper about Tolkien like this, readers might welcome this curiosity. In chapter six of *The Two Towers*, Aragorn sings a song of Rohan that begins as follows: “Where now the horse and the rider? Where is the horn that was blowing?” (p. 136). The song seems to be inspired in these lines from *The Wanderer*.

128. “Thus the wise man spoke in his mind, and sat apart in thought. Worthy is he who retains his faith; a man must never too hastily express his anxieties from his heart, unless the man knows beforehand how to effect the cure with courage. It will be well for him who seeks grace, consolation from the Father in heaven, where for us all the immutable abides” (Bradley, p. 325).

common tragedy of inevitable ruin, and yet feeling this more *poetically* because he was himself removed from the direct pressure of its despair. He could view from without, but still feel immediately and from within, the old dogma: despair of the event, combined with faith in the value of doomed resistance.¹²⁹

The Appeal of the Holy Scriptures

But there were other elements that prepared the way for the fusion, especially the Scriptures. As Malcolm Godden puts it, the Old Testament was extremely attractive for the Anglo-Saxon imagination and this in one particular sense. It was perceived also as a history book, one in which the Anglo Saxons could establish a parallel between themselves and the Hebrews, since both “were invaders trying to establish themselves in new and hostile land”.¹³⁰ Apart from this, the great heroes of the Old Testament were also warriors and Kings adoring a God who was often referred to as the *Lord of Armies*. The Gospel, on the other hand, centered in Christ, also retained something of that appeal. Jesus was a prince, a treasure-giver with a band of thanes, as he is presented in *Christ III*.¹³¹ In the *Dream of the Rood*, the Lord Jesus is a young hero, sacrificing himself for his people at the Cross, which is Christ’s retainer, “forced, against all the instincts of the retainer in Germanic tradition, to assist at the death of its Lord”.¹³² On the other hand, the main appeal of the New Testament for the Anglo-Saxons, as Raw states, was its emphasis on God’s initiative to save man through Christ’s incarnation, his death and triumphant Resurrection.¹³³ We know very little of the religion of the heathen Anglo-Saxons but a widely accepted assumption is that they shared many of the beliefs of their Northern neighbors and relatives. One of these is especially relevant at this point: “At least in this vision of the final defeat of the humane (and of the divine made in its image), [...], we may suppose that pagan English and Norse imagination agreed”.¹³⁴ In other words, men and gods are doomed.

129. Tolkien, MC, p. 265.

130. Malcolm Godden, “Biblical Literature: the Old Testament”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Malcolm Godden and M. Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1991, 206-26), p. 207.

131. Barbara C. Raw, “Biblical Literature: the New Testament”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1991, 227-42), pp. 238-39.

132. Raw, p. 241.

133. Raw, pp. 227-28.

134. Tolkien, MC, p. 263.

But if the fall of man is, after all, a fact of life, the defeat of the gods opens an abyss at men's feet: there is no ultimate power from which comfort or consolation may come. In addition to this, we do not know (for no records have survived) what the heathen Anglo-Saxons thought about life after death. Even the Valhalla, the warriors' paradise in Northern mythology, seems to have been a late development to counteract the increasing pressure exercised by Christianity and its promise of eternal life. "We glimpse there a heaven and a hell –the one rather the reward of courage the other the punishment of feebleness".¹³⁵ We do have, on the other hand, vestiges of the idea of *lof* or *dom*, "the noble pagan's desire for the *merited praise* of the noble", a kind of "limited 'immortality'".¹³⁶ Far beyond the mortal (though brave) euhemeristic gods of the Northern pantheon, Christianity revealed the Eternal Almighty God; to the somber uncertainties about life beyond death, Christ (also a man) opened the way to Redemption and Eternal life.

The New Testament is completely absent from *Beowulf*, and so is Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints. The Old Testament, and more specifically the *Book of Genesis*, emerges in the references to Cain (ll. 108, 1261) and Abel (l. 108), the giants who were destroyed in the Flood (1688 ff) or a passage that seems to paraphrase the account of Creation (ll. 90-8).¹³⁷ The obvious reason for this seems to be that, as already stated, the characters in the poem were heathen and, therefore, an extra-weight of Biblical references would not have been welcome. Only the narrator speaks as a Christian, trying to show how all the events in the poem and the actions of the characters (completely unaware of this) eventually fit within God's Providence. Similarly, on the other hand, the poet omits all references to pagan deities:

But if the specifically Christian was suppressed, so also were the old gods. Partly because they had not really existed, [...]. Partly because their old names (certainly not forgotten) had been potent, and were connected in memory still, not only with mythology or such fairy-tale matter [...] but with active heathendom, religion and *wigweorþung*. Most of all because they were not actually essential to the theme.¹³⁸

135. Tolkien, [A], p. 67.

136. Tolkien, MC, p. 280-81.

137. A detailed account of all the Christian references in *Beowulf* is given in the classic study by Friedrich Klaeber, "Die christlichen Elemente im *Beowulf*", *Anglia* 35 (1911): 111-36, 249-70, 453-82; 36 (1912): 169-99. This text was translated into English by Paul Battles as "The Christian Element in *Beowulf*", *Old English Newsletter*, Subsidia 24, 1996.

138. Tolkien, MC, p. 264.

The only place where the fusion of Northern traditions and the Holy Scriptures becomes apparent is in the hero's first foe. Grendel – a troll, an orc, or even a *draugr* in disguise – is given a Biblical ancestor (Cain); not because the poet could not remain sober, was muddle-headed or was confusing the two traditions, Northern and Christian. Rather, the evil creature had to be placed on the right (or rather, wrong) side of the new conception of human history upon earth. In a paper published in 1946, ten years after Tolkien's, Marie P. Hamilton echoes the former's words when suggesting that the Christian poet saw in Grendel the first obvious link between Teutonic folklore, the Bible and Patristic literature: "The analogy between Cain and Grendel is well sustained".¹³⁹ The Dragon, as close to Biblical imagery as it was (both in the serpent of Paradise or in St John's *Book of Revelation*) is never referred to as a demonic creature, or even less as an allegory of sin, evil or Satan.¹⁴⁰

A Large Enough House

The Christian Anglo-Saxons treasured those heroic traditions that they had brought with them from their continental homes. In their new insular dwellings,¹⁴¹ these oral narrations constituted their identity and soon enough were interwoven with southern learning. "The ancestors were not banned (as some would have wished)".¹⁴² The often quoted letter of Alcuin to Speratus,¹⁴³

139. Marie P. Hamilton, "The Religious Principle in *Beowulf*", in *An Anthology of Beowulf Criticism*, ed. by Lewis E. Nicholson (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1963, 105-36), p. 115.

140. In his introduction to *Beowulf*, Klaeber writes that "the dragon was in ecclesiastical tradition the recognized symbol of the archfiend" (p. I). Later on, the iconography of St. Michael and St. George, both defeating the devil in the shape of a dragon, would confirm the potentialities of the winged reptile.

141. The *Oxford English Dictionary* includes the following definition, as one of the meanings of the adjective "insular": 4. a. Pertaining to islanders; *esp.* having the characteristic traits of the inhabitants of an island (e.g. of Great Britain); *cut off from intercourse with other nations, isolated; self-contained; narrow or prejudiced in feelings, ideas, or manners* (my emphasis). In this last sense, for Tolkien, the Anglo-Saxons were by no means insular!

142. Tolkien, [A], p. 63.

143. There are doubts about the identity of the Bishop of Lindisfarne at the time Alcuin of York sent him his famous letter. Tolkien refers to him as Speratus, but others name him Hygebold (*Beowulf and Its Analogues*, ed. and trans. by G. N. Garmonsway and J. Simpson (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1968), p. 242. Mitchell and Robinson, who also include a section of the letter, just mention "a Mercian Bishop" (*Beowulf. An Edition*, ed. by Bruce

Bishop of Lindisfarne (797) clearly demonstrates that the Anglo-Saxon monks did enjoy listening to their old traditions while having dinner:

Verba Dei legantur in sacerdotali convivio; ibi decet lectorem audiri, non chitaristam, sermons partum, non carmina gentilium. Quid Hinieldus cum Christo? Angusta est domus; utrosque tenere non poterit. Non vult rex celestis [sic; celestis] cum paganis et perditis nominetenus regibus communionem habere; quia rex ille aeternus regnat in caelis, ille paganus perditus plangit in inferno. Voces legentium audire in dominibus tuis, non ridentium turbam in plateis.¹⁴⁴

Alcuin was probably right in reminding the Bishop which were the appropriate readings for monks while at their meals (as the monastic usage demanded), not to mention the fact that heathen days were not so far removed from the present time: “throughout the Anglo-Saxon period paganism was a constant threat against which preachers railed and Christian kings and their retinues fought”.¹⁴⁵ But, in any case, Alcuin’s words equally show that listeners also liked less spiritual readings, such as those about Ingeld,¹⁴⁶ for instance. The heroic ethos in Anglo-Saxon poetic narrations was by no means threatened by the demands of the newly accepted religion: “it was not necessarily improper that the same minds should contain the old histories and the new faith. The house is wide and has many rooms”, says Tolkien.¹⁴⁷ The reference to the house and its rooms, mentioned by Alcuin, and then modified by Tolkien seems to echo Christ’s words in St John’s Gospel (“In domo Patris mei man-

Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), p. 225). Drout, as profuse as his notes are to [A] and [B], does not enter into the debate.

144. Drout, p. 221. “Let the Word of God be read when the clergy are at their meal. It is seemly to hear a reader there, not a harper; to hear the sermons of the Fathers of the Church, not the lays of the heathen. For what has Hinieldus to do with Christ? The house is narrow; it cannot contain them both; the King of Heaven will have no part with so-called kings who are heathen and damned, for the One King reigns eternally in Heaven, while the other, the heathen, is damned and groans in Hell. In your houses the voices of readers should be heard, not a rabble of men making merry in the streets” (Garmonsway and Simpson, p. 242).

145. Fred C Robinson, “*Beowulf*”, in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 1991, 142-59), p. 150.

146. Ingeld was a hero in Germanic tradition. We may assume that he was well known by the Anglo-Saxon audience, since Alcuin chose him as an icon of Pagan heroic literature. The *Beowulf*-poet’s passing allusion to him (lines 2025 ff.) also seems to prove this.

147. Tolkien, [A], p. 64.

siones multae sunt" (XIV, 2));¹⁴⁸ Jesus' words seem to agree with Tolkien's, rather than with Alcuin. After all, St. Augustine's permission to read Roman and Greek philosophy could also be applied to these Anglo-Saxon monks and their heroic traditions.¹⁴⁹

"If [they] have said things by chance that are truthful and conformable to our faith, we must not only have no fear of them, but even appropriate them for our own use from those who are, in a sense, their illegal possessors."¹⁵⁰

In England the heathen imagination was brought into touch with Christendom, and with the Scriptures. Tolkien talks about *ignition* to describe the encounter of the two different types of ethos. Conversion did not happen in a day, but soon enough the alchemy was at work.¹⁵¹ The Christian *gens Anglorum* were never transformed into a kind of pseudo-Latin people, nor everything they read, loved and produced was "Southern", but a whole body of materials that remained "Northern" and heroic, though revaluated and embellished in the light of the new culture.¹⁵² Furthermore, this new culture, this new spirit, was also transformed in turn, adopting modes from all those native materials: as much as Christianity transformed the heroic ethos, in "the Old English poetic tradition, the Christian religion itself took on a heroic cast", as Hare states.¹⁵³ Much in the same line, Patrizia Lendinara has also established that although Anglo-Saxon schools gained their reputation in the

148. "In my father's house there are many dwelling places". In fact, in [B] Tolkien writes "The house is wide and has many rooms" between inverted comas, which indicates that he was quoting. Since the words are not exactly those of St John's, maybe his memory failed at this point; these words were suppressed in the definite version. Drouot fails to see their probable source in the "Explanatory notes" to [A] and [B].

149. Obviously, many of the heathen traditions of the Anglo-Saxons were lost. Bradley talks about *censorship* (p. xvi) – a ubiquitous charge – being practised in Anglo-Saxon Monastic *Scriptoria*, but seems himself to soften the term when adding "by selection". In other words, some texts were chosen, some others were not (if only because of time constraints and accessibility to the necessary means to preserve and copy the materials). Besides, there were monks who were not mere copyists or scribes, but were talented enough so as to modify the materials and make them suitable to the special tastes of their secular patron or religious community (Bradley, p. xvi). These *editors* would also suppress too blunt references to paganism, mainly names of deities, but were tolerant enough as to report the cremation or ship burials of their pagan ancestors, as explicitly described by the *Beowulf*-poet.

150. Bradley, p. xvii.

151. Tolkien, MC, p. 263.

152. Hamilton, p. 105.

153. <http://film.guardian.co.uk/lordoftherings/news/0,11016,852217,00.html>

Early Middle Ages in the “domain of Latin learning”,¹⁵⁴ a great effort was also made to preserve, not only heroic traditions, but also what she calls *popular learning* or traditional knowledge, such as gnomes, riddles, charms, *leeches* (medical treatises) and catalogue poems.¹⁵⁵

Conclusion

It is reasonable to argue that Tolkien had a very *English* approach to *Beowulf*. When reading his writings about this text, one cannot help feeling that, as an Englishman, he saw himself granted with some kind of inherited right to enjoy it and transmit its real value to the world (especially the English world). Similarly, his fellow countrymen would be the authentic addressees of the poem:¹⁵⁶ “[*Beowulf*] was made in this land, and moves in our northern world beneath our northern sky, and for those who are native to that tongue and land, it must ever call with a profound appeal”.¹⁵⁷ This might be considered a nationalistic stance, but I see deeper and more personal reasons behind it. The point I am trying to make is that there exists for me a close parallelism between Tolkien himself and the Anglo Saxons, and this at two different levels. First of all, as much as the latter had come from another place and settled down in a new land, so Tolkien (a man born in Bloemfontein, South Africa) moved with his mother and brothers to England. Secondly, it was in *Britannia* that the Anglo Saxons converted; similarly, Tolkien’s mother and her children accepted Catholicism in England. Getting down to a more precise issue –and one relevant for the present volume–, his conception of man’s existence upon earth, in other words, his approach to human history, seems also to hold some kind of closeness with that referred Anglo-Saxon pessimism which was answered by Christianity. Carpenter puts the emphasis on the first, thus concluding that it was the dominant tone of his personality. Joseph Pearce, on the other hand, much more sensitive to Tolkien’s feelings as a Roman Catholic, refutes this view.¹⁵⁸ For Tolkien, as the second biographer puts it, human history was deeply rooted in a fallen world and thus it was

154. Lendinara, p. 269.

155. Lendinara, pp. 266–68.

156. “He could turn a lecture room into a mead hall in which he was the bard and we were the feasting listening guests”, wrote John I. M. Stewart, a former Tolkien’s student (quoted in Colin Duriez, *J. R. R. Tolkien and C.S. Lewis. The Story of Their Friendship* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 2003), p. 32.

157. Tolkien, MC, p. 278.

158. Pierce, p. 37.

destined to be a chain of defeats and disappointments; even victory or success is dimmed by a certain sense of loss. Beyond this, however, eternal happiness awaits: "Actually I am a Christian, and indeed a Roman Catholic, so that I do not expect "history" to be anything but a "long defeat" – though it contains (and in a legend may contain more clearly and movingly) some samples or glimpses of final victory".¹⁵⁹

As much as Tolkien cherished his condition as a man from the North, he revered the Mediterranean Latin and Greek world that gave systematic form to Christianity. I am talking about identities, cultural and individual, for this Northern/Germanic and Christian character that best illustrates eighth century England, also defines *Beowulf*, its anonymous author and, ultimately, J. R. R. Tolkien himself. This man's attachment with Anglo-Saxon England was not an escapist desire, but rather a personal positioning in a time of crises. When a new kind of Germanic neo-paganism was corrupting that Northern spirit that Tolkien so much admired, he made an effort to legitimize it as one of the main contributions in the consolidation of Europe. At a time when Western democracies were trying to appease the expansionist claims of the Third Reich, Tolkien probably envisaged that the conflict between the European totalitarian regimes (Nazi Germany and Communist U. S. S. R.) would eventually break off. At the basis of both ideologies he saw the destruction of Christian anthropology and humanism. His emphasis on the Christian roots of Anglo-Saxon England –of Europe in an ultimate sense– was, apart from a historical fact, a valiant vindication.

159. From a letter to Amy Ronald, 15 December 1956 (Carpenter, *The Letters*, p. 255).

Plates A



Illustrations by Lancelot Speed

Plates B



Illustrations from several books by Andrew Lang

Chronology

- 1892. John Ronald Reuel Tolkien is born at Bloemfontein (South Africa).
- 1895. Mabel with children (John R. R. and Hilary) returns to England and lives with her relatives in Birmingham. Arthur Tolkien, her husband, remains in Bloemfontein.
- 1896. Arthur Tolkien dies in South Africa. Mabel with sons moves outside Birmingham, to Sarehole.
- 1900. Mabel Tolkien becomes Catholic and converts her sons. Ronald enters King Edward School.
- 1902. Ronald enrolls at St. Phillip's Grammar School.
- 1903. Tolkien returns to King Edward's thanks to a scholarship.
- 1906-11. Tolkien privately studies Old English, Old Norse, and Gothic, begins to invent languages with their own grammars and histories, and writes poems, some in invented languages.
- 1910. Ronald is awarded a small scholarship to study Classical Languages at Exeter College, Oxford. He also learns some Old Norse and Spanish.
- 1911. Tolkien creates the *Tea Club and Barrovian Society* (T. C. B. S.) at grammar school. He begins his first term at Oxford, studying Comparative Philology under Joseph Wright.
- 1913. Tolkien takes a Second Class in exams and transfers from Classics to English, with emphasis in Philology, and formally studies Old Norse.
- 1914. Edith Bratt converts to Catholicism, and they are formally engaged. Britain declares war on Germany. Tolkien decides to complete his degree before serving.
- 1915. Tolkien receives First Honours on final examination, takes a commission, and begins army training.
- 1916. Tolkien marries Edith Bratt on 22 March, leaves for France on 4 June, and participates in the Battle of the Somme. Stricken with "trench fever", Tolkien returns home on 8 November.
- 1918. Tolkien accepts a position as a junior staff member of the *New English Dictionary* that is later called *Oxford English Dictionary* at Oxford and works on the letter "w."
- 1920. Tolkien is appointed Reader in English Language at Leeds University.
- 1922. *Middle English Vocabulary* is published. Tolkien begins work on a new edition of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* with E.V. Gordon.
- 1924. Tolkien is appointed Professor of English Language at Leeds.

1925. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is published. The Tolkiens move from Leeds to Oxford where he is elected Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.
1936. Tolkien delivers lecture “*Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics*”.
1937. *The Hobbit* is published and becomes a commercial and critical success.
1945. Tolkien elected Merton Professor of English Language and Literature.
1954. First two volumes of *The Lord of the Rings* are published: *The Fellowship of the Ring* and *The Two Towers*.
1955. *The Return of the King* is published. Tolkien ceases to meet regularly with Lewis.
1959. Tolkien retires from the Merton professorship.
1962. Tolkien publishes his edition of the Middle English *Ancrene Wisse*.
1968. The Tolkiens move to Poole, near Bournemouth, a seaside resort.
1971. Edith Tolkien dies on 29 November, aged eighty-two.
1972. Tolkien returns to Oxford, with rooms at Merton College. There he receives an Honorary Doctorate in Letters from Oxford University. He is made Commander of the British Empire.
1973. While visiting friends in Bournemouth, becomes ill and dies a few days later, on 2 September, at eighty-one years of age.

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Henry Charles Lea (1825 – 1909)

Julia Pavón

Henry Charles Lea, one of the most outstanding figures on the scientific and historical scene in North America during the nineteenth century, first embarked on the study of the natural sciences and history, disciplines which engaged the analytical and critical skills he had acquired through a thoroughgoing education in the sciences and humanities.

His intellectual gifts, a talent for study and a meticulous commitment to methodological application, along with his interest in issues concerning ecclesiastical institutions, led to his becoming one of the nineteenth-century scholars who addressed in most depth one of the most controversial questions relating to the history of the Church in the late medieval period – the origin and procedures of the Inquisition, and the mark it left on the ecclesiastical conception of power.

Discussion of this figure and his historiographical legacy also entails supplying an account of a paradigmatic example of the historian in nineteenth-century North America; however, although he may be described as belonging to the progressive school, his approach to the work at hand was somewhat different to that of his contemporaries. His ideas with regard to historical objectivity, compiled in “Ethical Values in History”¹, were the hallmark of the theoretical framework for his research project, and for his technique in relation to the critical analysis of sources. Nevertheless, the influence of liberal Protestantism and the progressive conception of history situate him in a historicist school of thought comprising a generation of scholars whose historical analysis of European issues prompted in part the distinctions and distances that came to define the “American experience”.

Hence, to offer a critical account of the work of Henry Charles Lea involves the provision of something more than a mere overview of the development of his professional career. Before defining the milestones and contexts that most closely shaped the formation of his character and project of historiographical inquiry, therefore, some further information should first be taken into consideration.

1. Henry Charles Lea, “Ethical Values in History”, in *American Historical Review*, 1904, 9, pp. 233-246.

Edward Sculley Bradley published *Henry Charles Lea: a Biography*² in 1931. The significance of Henry Charles Lea's scholarly legacy remained bright a generation after his death. At the same time, in some sectors of North-American society, his active presence in and contributions to the fields of the natural sciences, history and politics were regarded as closely in tune with the ideal of the citizen of the United States: one who is committed to shaping the cultural values of identity in the nation. As his peer Charles H. Haskins held in 1909, in the field of history itself Lea was quickly identified as one of the nineteenth-century intellectuals who had contributed most directly to the emergence of a school of historical thought in the United States.

The complexity of a project that aims to address the life and work of Henry Charles Lea is reflected, *a priori*, in the fact that a research group focusing on the analysis of the significance of his life and historical and scholarly legacy was established very shortly after his death. Numerous studies analyzing his work have been carried out in the field of North-American historiography – centering, above all, on Lea's work as a historian. Two months after his death in October 1909, Charles H. Haskins furnished a review of his biographical and historical achievements; Professor E. P. Cheney was to do the same two years later, prior to which a biographical memoir had been produced within the historian's family circle. Since then the number of critical studies of his historical research, as well as of the historiography running in tandem with his career, have continued to increase into the present day: Edward Peters, Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania, is the scholar who has addressed the importance and significance of Lea's intellectual activity in most depth.

In fact, to my mind, the work of Edward Peters sets a new standard for the study of Lea's significance, both in methodological and historiographical terms. Uncompromised by the devotion of those who knew or had contact with Lea in the academic arena at the turn of the twentieth century, Peters succeeds in framing and defining the close ties linking the origin, objectives and trends in the work the historian carried out over the course of a lifetime; at the same time, he also manages to offer a wider perspective on Lea's work than that owing to it merely in terms of historiographical evaluation. Thus, he provides a meaningful reading of the portrait of the scholar as a man committed to the study of legal ecclesiastical institutions in the Middle Ages dur-

2. Edward Sculley Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea: a biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931).

ing a period (the final third of the nineteenth century) in which his nation's liberal values were still in the process of being defined³.

It should also be noted that this article does not draw on the personal archive and papers of Henry Charles Lea; references in this regard to such material are taken from what has been supplied by Sculley's biography and the studies published by Peters. Nevertheless, and in light of the tradition of historiography in North America, this article offers a critical overview of the development and contents of Lea's research, highlighting the value and originality of the work he carried out and the methodological skill he developed to account for one of the most significant questions in medieval European history. Thus, this paper takes as its starting-point a biographical overview, enabling greater understanding of the nature and extent of the work of this prolific historian, which is the second center of interest for this article; at the same time, the North-American historical and historiographical context which framed Lea's scholarly project is always borne in mind.

Biographical notes (21st September, 1825–24th October, 1909)

Henry Charles Lea was born in the city of Philadelphia on the 19th of September, 1825; his parents were Frances Anne Carey and Isaac Lea. His father was the sixth son of an entrepreneur, James Lea, whose business undertakings enjoyed mixed fortunes and success. Although Isaac was born in Wilmington in 1792, he moved to Philadelphia with one of his older brothers, the city in which both would not only lead their professional lives but also engage in academic scholarship. Isaac married Frances Anne in 1821 and joined his father-in-law's (Mathew Carey) business, one of the most renowned publishing houses in the country⁴. This decision improved his lot in life and enabled him to devote himself more fully to his most heartfelt interest: the natural sciences – in particular, the study of minerals and fossilized shells, as part of a wider engagement with paleontology, geology and mineralogy⁵. Between 1828, when he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society, and 1852, the year in which he was conferred with the degree of Doctor of Laws at Harvard University, Isaac Lea was the recipient of numer-

3. The entirety of Edward Peters's work is not cited here; the relevant details are given where his work is quoted or referred to in the article.

4. Kenneth Wyer Rowe, *Mathew Carey. A study in American economic development* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933).

5. Sculley, *Henry Charles Lea*, pp. 13-17.

ous awards from the most prestigious academic institutions in the field of the natural sciences in both Europe and North America.

Henry Charles was the third of the four children born to Isaac and Frances Anne; the eldest, born in 1822, died in childhood. Both Henry Charles and his brother Mathew were given a wide-ranging academic education under their parents' close supervision; they sought out a tutor – Eugenius Nulty, an Irishman – to guide their sons' study of language, ancient and modern literature, mathematics and the natural sciences in accordance with the Pestalozzi method⁶. This approach was reinforced by the family environment itself, Episcopalian by religion, in which a high premium was placed on intellectual activity – the knowledge of classical and modern languages, for example, including Greek, Latin, French, Spanish and German; and, more specifically, the study of botany (treatises on shells), the reading of literature and fine art appreciation⁷.

Both his childhood and adolescence, therefore, were key stages in the development of Henry Charles Lea's personality and later academic profile; his father's influence was to be borne out in his acquisition and application of the scientific method in the natural sciences (the analysis of systems), and his artistic sensibility was not confined solely to the collection of fine-art works but was also reflected in the drawing of the species he studied⁸. He inherited his taste for literature from his mother; that the "Carey, Lea & Blanchard" company published the work of Walter Scott, James Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, Edgar Allen Poe and other renowned writers is noteworthy in this regard.

Given this background, it should come as no surprise to learn that Lea began to publish scholarly articles based on his own research into new fossil species, chemistry and literary criticism at the age of sixteen. Between 1841, when his first text (on fossilized shells) appeared in *Silliman's Journal*, and 1850, he published forty-three pieces of work, twenty-three of which centered on modern English poetry and literature, another one of his great passions⁹.

6. Peters, "Henry Charles Lea and the Libraries within a Library", in *The Penn Library Collections at 250* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2000), p. 35.

7. Peters, "Una morada de monstruos: Henry Charles Lea y el descubrimiento americano de la Inquisición", in Angel Alcalá et al. (eds.), *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial. Ponencias del Simposio Internacional sobre Inquisición Nueva York, abril de 1983* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984), pp. 531.

8. Sculley, *Henry Charles Lea*, pp. 18-19. By the time of his death, Isaac – Lea's father – had established one of the most important collections of Italian art in the United States.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-76. Lea himself also wrote poetry.

In 1843, Henry Charles decided to join the family publishing business – “Lea & Blanchard”; this decision did not displace his vocational devotion to the study of the sciences, which he continued to work on at night. However, the intensity which marked his commitment to both forms of work did lead to problems with his sight and acute insomnia, leaving him on the verge of a critical state of physical exhaustion and fatigue four years later. To remedy the situation, his personal physician, Hugh L. Hodge, prescribed complete withdrawal from such an intense way of life. Lea chose to focus exclusively on his work for the publishing house, and to spend his free time resting with his family.

It was during this time that Lea began to read historical works, an interest that had first been nurtured during his adolescence when he wrote a number of essays on the history of France and the victims of the Spanish Inquisition. Over time, history, which had been little more than a hobby, began to acquire a new and greater significance among his other many and various intellectual interests. It was also during this time – in 1850 – that Lea married Anna Caroline Jaudon, his cousin; they had three sons and a daughter.

Given his health problems, it is likely that Lea did not expect to publish his work in the field of history in the short term; and, in fact, his first formal publication in this regard, a review of Francis Palgrave’s *The History of Normandy and of England*, dates to 1858. The eleven-year gap between the decision, taken on medical advice, to set aside his intense activity in the sciences and his first published work on history was crucial to his intellectual development and to his decision to focus on the legal history of the Church. While the increased success of the publishing company, brought about by the idea of specializing in medical texts, was one of Lea’s great achievements, he also committed himself fully to political reform projects, many of which were linked to the Civil War (1861–1865) – a commitment to politics which was to prove lifelong¹⁰; through it all, however, he always found time to acquire and read historical texts.

When he bought the house at 2000 Walnut Street in 1869, Lea felt that it would be large enough to hold his entire personal library; however, in 1881, and again a short time later, new extensions were added to the building to accommodate the vast quantity of books he continued to buy, read and store. In fact, his personal library was to become one of the largest and richest collections of works in the United States concerning the history of the Medieval and Early Modern periods, especially in relation to legal and ecclesiastical

10. *Ibid.*, see especially chapters V and VI.

history. Part of this library, comprising 7,000 volumes and approximately 400 medieval manuscripts, incunabula and other papers, as well as a significant amount of Lea's personal correspondence, is now held at the University of Pennsylvania; the room in which it is stored also contains the original furniture, decorated and arranged as it was in the historian's day; all of this material was donated to the university by Lea's daughter, Nina.

Lea's initial incursions into history, at the end of the 1840s, centered on his readings of seventeenth and eighteenth-century French court memoirs, an activity which prompted his interest in the era immediately preceding them, wherein he found the writings of Jean Froissart, Jean de Joinville, Geoffrey de Villehardouin and Saint Denis particularly to his taste. This new direction and range of interests is reflected in an increased acquisition of books and other documents from Europe, as is recorded in the catalogue of works in Lea's personal library during the period 1849-1860¹¹. This expansion of his collection in the area of medieval European sources, especially texts composed in the heat and light of nationalist movements, along with the composition of a research project on the rise of the Capeta household that would remain unpublished, suggest a determined attitude and level of motivation and critical interest in Lea that neither health problems nor personal circumstances could diminish.

Henry Charles Lea's scholarship and his capacity for critical analysis began to bear fruit in the study of the history of the Latin Church during the second half of the 1860s, which he was to define in the introduction to the *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy* as "the great fact which dominates the history of modern civilization"¹². He published his first three books between 1866 and 1869: *Superstition and Force* (1866), *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church* (1867) and *Studies in Church History* (1869).

Given the relative calm and the academic relationships he had made during the preceding years, the 1870s began as a time of great expectations for Lea who had begun to lay the groundwork for two related fields of inquiry: witchcraft and the Inquisition. With the help of friends and colleagues in the United States and Europe, his efforts to acquire books, texts and other documents on these topics were redoubled. However, another serious relapse into ill-health, above all problems with his sight, forced him to reduce his work

11. Peters, "Henry Charles Lea and the Libraries within a Library", pp. 37-39.

12. *Vid.* note 35.

commitments between 1878 and 1884¹³. This change of pace in work and study enabled him to devote more of his time to political and academic activities; he also began to write poetry again. After 1884, he was able to work full-time on *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, which was written between 1885 and 1888; a further enabling factor was that, from 1880 onwards, he had begun to delegate responsibility for the publishing company to his children

Nevertheless, the publication of the history of the Inquisition did not mark the end-point of his professional development; indeed, it proved to be the starting point for a wide range of research projects based on the topics and ideas contained in the chapters of that first work. Neither age nor delicate health curtailed the long hours of study he spent in his library over the course of the last twenty-five years of his life (1884–1909), the period that comprises Lea's mature work and its recognition by other scholars. His published works during this time center on the Spanish Inquisition and the "mudejar" population in Spain, which was often subject to close examination by the Inquisition. At the same time, as he had already done in his book on sacerdotal celibacy, he also carried out book-length studies of two aspects relating to instruments of ecclesiastical control (to use Lea's terms): papal penitentiaries, and confession and indulgences. The titles of these works are: *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition* (1890), *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary* (1892), *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church* (1896), *The moriscos of Spain* (1901), *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (1906–1907), and *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (1908).

Despite his commitment to this scholarly work, Lea did not ignore his family, civic, political and academic responsibilities. He was, for example, elected president of the American Historical Association in 1902. At the same time, and in tandem with the translation of his works into German, French and Italian, Lea was awarded honorary degrees, memberships and posts in learned societies in the United States and Europe. He was awarded honorary doctorates by Princeton, Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania.

Henry Charles Lea died after a sudden illness on the 24th of October, 1909, at his home in Philadelphia. Four days earlier he had left the volume he was writing on of witchcraft on his desk. His bibliographical legacy, correspond-

13. Peters, "Henry Charles Lea (1825-1909)", in *Medieval Scholarship. Biographical studies on the formation of a discipline*, ed. by Helen Damico and Joseph B. Zavadil (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1995), vol. 1, p. 93.

ence and research papers were donated to the University of Pennsylvania in 1925.

The history of Europe in 19th century North America: the romantic vision and the progressive approach

By the end of the 1860s, Lea had succeeded in carving out a niche for his work in the field of historical research: the study of legal procedures in the Catholic Church, an undertaking shaped by his scholarly profile as an erudite historian working in light of the historical and instrumental methodology of the German School. By applying certain scientific rules to the first-hand study of documents concerning ecclesiastical jurisprudence, as the background to his work as a whole, sea gave his project its distinctive character. Although his texts were highly scientific in tone, meticulously followed a clear method, were shaped by a strong sense of thematic coherence, and are generally read in terms of the positivist scheme of things, they do not correspond at all points to the tradition of modern North-American historicism inaugurated by Henry Adams.

Lea's method may be distinguished from other, more subjective models of romantic historiography, such as those exemplified by the work of William Hickling Prescott (1796-1959) and John Lothrop Motley (1814-1877)¹⁴, who – along with Francis Parkman (1823-1893) – were the leading lights in the second generation of romantic historians in the United States¹⁵.

The historical perspective and production of these scholars were framed by an emphasis on literary power and imagination, an approach well-suited to research regarding a nation's origins, which was presented as a battle between liberty and absolutism: "But their interest in ruins, in vital experience, in portraits, conventional characters, and Nature has a far greater significance

14. Marybeth Carlson, "John Lothrop Motley", in Kelly Boyd (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Historians & Historical Writing* (London-Chicago, 1999) vol. 2, pp. 842-843. John L. Motley was the author of *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (3 vols., 1856), as well as the *History of the United Netherlands* (4 vols., 1860-67); these books are regarded as his most significant contribution to historical science, and present nineteenth-century republican ideals in counterpoint to the anti-Spanish sixteenth-century bourgeoisie without supplying a sound documentary basis. However, his work was very popular and, perhaps surprisingly, was very well-received in Europe.

15. David Levin, *History as romantic art: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman* (New York-Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963) and Ernst Breisach, *Historiography. Ancient, Medieval & Modern* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1994, second edition) pp. 255-261.

than the merely technical aspects of the literary attitude can indicate. History, like all literature, had more important purposes than entertainment. The New England Unitarian's version of romanticism included important assumptions about the meaning of history, and he adapted romantic literary conventions to communicate that meaning"¹⁶.

Following a period during which Spanish history and traditions had been the object of considerable fascination among scholars, a number of historians – including the Protestant, John L. Motley – set out to demystify the romantic image of Spain¹⁷. With the restoration of an absolute regime under Ferdinand VII the country became a paradigmatic example of all the ills fomented by the Catholic Church; thus, Spain became a shorthand term for extreme forms of clericalism, imperialism, anti-liberalism and obscurantism, and the “dark legend” was further spread throughout the United States¹⁸.

The religious vision of Spain in North America, on which Henry Charles Lea himself drew, was based on texts drawn up on the common ground of anticlericalism and Protestant liberalism. However, the work of Prescott – *Ferdinand and Isabel* (1837) and *Philip II* (1855-1859) – merits more detailed attention in this regard. His historiographical criteria, those of a romantic historian, enabled him to see beyond the stereotypes that arose and spread from revolutionary France. On a personal level, his treatment of the religion was sympathetic, and he went back to original sources concerning the Inquisition published by Juan Antonio Llorente at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as well as Tomas McCrie's *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century* (1829). Nevertheless, his work inspired a certain morbid fascination and revulsion for the Inquisition, which became an easy compound target of all the ills of modern Spanish history¹⁹.

Lea would also have come under the influence of the meaning of American historical experience reflected in the work of John William Draper (1811-1882) and Andrew D. White (1832-1918). For these historians, fundamental elements that might define their own country could be drawn from the past history of Europe; this perspective was articulated at a time when the United

16. Levin, *History as a romantic art*, p. 23.

17. Leonard Krieger, “European History in America”, in *History: The Development of Historical Studies in the United States* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1965), pp. 238-244.

18. Peters, “Una morada de monstruos”, pp. 519-521 and Philip W. Powell, *Árbol de odio. La leyenda negra y sus consecuencias en las relaciones entre Estados Unidos y el Mundo Hispánico* (Madrid: Ediciones José Porrúa Turanzas, 1972), pp. 152-167.

19. Peters, “Una morada de monstruos”, pp. 521-530.

States had come to a defining moment as a nation: a national identity given shape by the evolutionary development of political, religious and intellectual freedom. The interest that this generation of historians expressed in the religious nature of Europe – its conflicts, and political despotism – may be more clearly understood in this context. Historiographical work of this type, therefore, may be read as yet one more sign of the ideological construction of American primacy, which is defined by contrast to the dead weight of classical European history, exemplified by – for instance – religious obscurantism²⁰.

Although these influences are evident in Lea's approach, his work is distinctively his own. Although he never undertook a formal academic career, Henry Charles knew how to endow his work with scholarly authority. He designed a valid model for the analysis of institutions, based on a fundamental and complete study of the sources. Thus, he turned on its head the literary approach adopted by previous historians, who had consulted such sources only in a selective way in order to discover heroic images, picturesque scenes and evocative descriptions.

Both the method and the materials which Lear used also served to reinforce the theoretical framework of his writings, which he sought to strip of moral judgments, a line of argument that he felt ran counter to the purposes of the historiographical project itself. Likewise in contrast to the work of romantic historians in the United States, who regarded history as one of the most important intellectual frameworks for the articulation of moral lessons, this approach enabled Lea to develop his concepts of historical objectivity and relativism. Moreover, the determination to distinguish his work from prior assumptions by attempting to safeguard an impartial point of view foreshadowed the evolution of history as a discipline in a more scientific sense²¹.

Given that the contents and objectives of his work – in particular, that on the Inquisition – went far beyond what he might ever have imagined when he first embarked on the project, Lea's conception of the role of the historian has received special attention in the historiographical tradition. Lea argued

20. "For Motley, as for Prescott, the function of European history was dual. Primarily, it was a prenatal American history...But a secondary function was there as well—a historical definition of America indicated by the perpetuation in Europe of the political and religious conflict that had been resolved in America." (Krieger, "European History in America", pp. 243-244).

21. "Exalting historical 'objectivity' and relativizing morality, Lea insisted on the priority of 'the facts' and stipulated a morality that 'should educe itself from the facts' and should derive its judgments from the standards of the age under study." (Krieger, "European History in America", p. 249).

that to judge the action and events of the past in moral terms was to undermine our perception of history because "the standards of right and wrong are modified and adapted to what, at the moment, are regarded as the objects most beneficial to the individual or to the social organization"²². Lea recognized the moral content of history. However, history could not be reduced to a useful object of study within a behaviorist paradigm. Rather, such moral judgment should arise from the events themselves. This position constitutes a critique of the philosophy of history advanced by the romantic movement, a rejection of the tendency to compose historical narrative in the most colorful way; Lea felt that such an approach weakened history, and fell far short of what he regarded as historical truth.

While Lea did draw up and argue the case for his own historiographical paradigms, which were based on positivist historical objectivity and in line with some of the principles reflected in the renewal of the German School, he never broke entirely with one of the other defining elements in the nineteenth-century historiographical tradition in the United States: the progressive approach articulated by George Bancroft, of which Prescott, Motley and Parkman were disciples. In this vision, which was also a shaping force on the democratic enthusiasm of the new world, the goal of the nation was read in terms of future ideals for the Western world rather than the country's recent past. Lea's focus on religious institutions in Europe centered his intellectual activity on phenomena which limited or held back the progress of freedom; hence, his work might be read as the antithesis of the "American historical experience" or the project of the United States itself:

In the slow evolution of the centuries, it may only be by comparing distant periods that we can mark our progress; but progress nevertheless exists, and future generations, perhaps, may be able to emancipate themselves wholly from the cruel and arbitrary domination of superstition and force.²³

In an article on Lea published in 1967, John M. O'Brien explored the progressive background to his work²⁴, and held that Lea "believed that the function of the historian was to discern the flaws in the past in order to clear the way for a better future...In Lea's eyes, the historian was a reformer and prophet who fulfilled his austere function by 'contributing to that progress which adds to the sum of human happiness and fits mankind for a higher

22. Lea, "Ethical Values in History", p. 234.

23. This is the conclusion to the final section of *Superstition and Force*, p. 459.

24. John M. O'Brien, "Henry Charles Lea: The Historian as Reformer", in *American Quarterly*, 1967, 19, pp. 104-113.

standard of existence”²⁵. This remark is a neat description of the horns of the dilemma on which Lea found himself in his work: although his starting-point was a valid method of inquiry, based on a personal theory of objectivity and an absence of moral judgment, the results of his labor fell somewhat short of a clearly impartial historiographical account.

According to Ernest Breisach, the extent and strength of such modes of inquiry in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century meant that other historiographical questions were, as a whole, obscured from view – questions such as the modern problem of historical interpretation; the progressive sense of the nation was safeguarded in this way, and protected from the threat of any uncertainty²⁶.

Although Lea may be described as one of the most representative historians in the nineteenth-century American historiographical tradition, the value and originality of his work is incomparable: firstly, because he raised “institutional history” to methodological status, a framework within which any historical issue might be addressed; and secondly, in spite of the influence of the liberal Protestant tradition of progress on his work, because he strove to enshrine the notion that “historical events” be stripped of any moral charge as a theoretical principle, thus distinguishing his approach from that of romantic historians.

Institutional history of the Church in the Medieval period

His attention was gradually directed from his youthful efforts in science to literature and then to history, especially that of the Middle Ages. In seeking to understand this thoroughly he soon became impressed with two facts: first, that the legislation of an age or country afforded the surest foundation for the comprehension of its institutions and its life; and second, that the original sources were, as far as possible, to be solely relied upon for material, secondary sources being too often swayed by subjective considerations²⁷.

Lea's initial interest in medieval French history inspired the application of the scientific method he had learned during adolescence to the practice of historical research. Henry Charles was prompted to look for and buy chroni-

25. *Ibid.*, p. 110.

26. Ernest Breisach, *American Progressive History. An experiment in Modernization* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 17–20.

27. Sculley, *Henry Charles Lea*, p. 118. This account was provided by Lea himself for an encyclopaedia entry.

cles and other documentary texts – such as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and the *Patrologia Latina*, to mention the most significant – by the need to analyze and check the European bibliography against its sources.

In a similar way, towards the end of the 1850s, on realizing that his proposed study had to be guided by the value which he referred to as “the inner life of a people,” Lea defined one of the most important objectives of his historical project; this realization is to be read in the words of a letter addressed to his friend and colleague William Edward H. Lecky (1838-1903), dated the 7th of August, 1866, and enclosed with a copy of his first book, *Superstition and Force*²⁸:

We have had enough of annalists to chronicle political intrigues and military achievements; but that which constitutes the inner life of a people and from which are to be drawn the lessons of the past that will guide us in the future, has hitherto been too much neglected.

Lecky was a fellow historian and the author of a number of books, including, *History of the Rise and influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe* (1865), *History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne* (1869) and *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1878-1890); given that he held that the primary goal of the historian was to remain impartial in his understanding of historical issues, before coming to any judgment, his work may also have influenced Lea’s approach. Lecky’s theory of history, defined from a cultural point of view and reflected in the books cited above, may be summarized as follows: civilization “was a process of continued and uninterrupted development, and progress was best achieved by evolutionary reform”²⁹; a linear process of evolution and perfection, governed by universal laws.

First historiographical works

In light of his influence on the shaping and subsequent development of moral and intellectual models, it is more than likely that Lecky’s theoretical presuppositions with regard to religious belief and cultural modes acted as a further stimulus on Lea’s engagement with problematic issues in the history of the medieval church³⁰. Moreover, by focusing on ecclesiastical institutions

28. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

29. Benedikt Stuchtey, “W. E. H. Lecky”, in Kelly Boyd (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Historians & Historical Writing*, London-Chicago, 1999, vol. 1, pp. 698-699.

30. “My object in the present work has been, to trace the history of the spirit of Rationalism; by which I understand, not any class of definite doctrines or criticisms, but rather a certain

and jurisprudence, Lea gained access to a privileged position from which to analyze the process by which the changes and models of the religious mind evolved in medieval civilization; this is confirmed by a statement in the preface to the 1878 edition of his work: "The history of jurisprudence is the history of civilization. The labors of the lawgiver embody not only the manners and customs of this time, but also its innermost thoughts and beliefs"³¹.

Lea's first published texts, which appeared in the *North American Review*, were embedded in a framework of the history of jurisprudence, and were further developed and compiled in *Superstition and Force* (1866). The influence of the position adopted by Louis Koenigswarter may also be read in these first texts. The work of Koenigswarter, the author of *Études historiques sur le développement de la société humaine* (1850), may have sparked Lea's interest because of his study of legal procedures as an integral part of cultural history. His reflections on trials by ordeal, the "wager of battle" or "judgment of God", vengeance and the sale of women, situated his work at a crossroads between the history of politics and law and the history of rites and customs; as E. Peters remarks: Lea "turned to the study of the history of law, since he thought that the legal culture of peoples in the past was a far more reliable key to their mentality than the actions of leading political figures"³².

Superstition and Force is a compilation of a number of texts that had previously been published³³, some of which were rewritten and extended for the new edition in book form. The book is divided into four long chapters: the "Wager of Law" or "Compurgation", the "Wager of Battle", "Trials by Ordeal", and "Torture" (previously unpublished). Lea opened the first chapter of his book with the following statement: "apart from the exact sciences, there is no

cast of thought, or bias of reasoning, which has during the last three centuries gained a marked ascendancy in Europe. The nature of this bias will be exhibited in detail in the ensuing pages, when we examine its influence upon the various forms of moral and intellectual development. At present, it will be sufficient to say, that it leads men on all occasions to subordinate dogmatic theology to the dictates of reason and of conscience, and, as a necessary consequence, greatly to restrict its influence upon life. It predisposes men, in history, to attribute all kinds of phenomena to natural rather than miraculous causes; in theology, to esteem succeeding systems the expressions of the wants and aspirations of that religious sentiment which is planted in all men; and, in ethics, to regard as duties only those which conscience reveals to be such". W. E. H. Lecky, *History of the Rise and influence of the Spirit of Rationalism in Europe, Introduction* (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1879), p. 3-4.

31. *Superstition and Force*, 1878.

32. Peters, "Henry Charles Lea (1825-1909)", vol. 1, p. 90.

33. "Canonical Compurgation and the Wager of Battle", in *North American Review*, 1859, 88, pp. 1-51 and "Judicial Ordeals", in *North American Review*, 1859, 89, pp. 32-98.

subject which more fully repays the student than the history of jurisprudence. To the reflecting mind few popular quotations are so essentially false, or reveal so narrow a view of life as the often cited lines"³⁴.

Through his analysis of the practices listed above, Lea traced the origin and evolution of each from ancient times and societies to their adoption and use in the life of the Church. On principle, Lea studiously avoided offering a moral perspective. Nevertheless, the conclusions drawn at the end of the text appear to contradict its stated aims: Lea calls into question the system of ecclesiastical action spearheaded by a number of scholars of the sacred who, to Lea's mind, had made themselves superior to the God they claimed to represent.

The following year – 1867 – saw the publication of *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church* (a revised and extended edition of which was issued in 1907). And *Studies in Church History: The Rise of the Temporal Power, Benefit of Clergy, Excommunication* appeared in 1869, establishing Lea as an authority in the study of the institutions and models of legal practices in the Latin Church.

The purpose of *Sacerdotal Celibacy* was to carry out a wide-ranging examination of the origin, development, abuses and reality of sacerdotal celibacy. The preface to the first edition and the opening lines of the first chapter, wherein he states that his intention is to present facts rather than spark controversy, comprise a faithful rendering of Lea's conception of history. The introductory letter he wrote on the Latin Church – "the great fact which dominates the history of modern civilization" – is of still greater interest; indeed, his work is a synthetic account of the history of the Church in light of the protagonist role it played in a history of supremacy in the medieval European world³⁵:

Through its perfected organisation the Church wielded its wide and absolute authority, deriving its force from moral power alone, marshalling no legions of its own in battle array, but permeating everything with its influence, walking unarmed through deadly strife, rising with renewed strength from every prostration, triumphing alike over the savage nature of the barbarian and the enervated apathy of the Roman tributary, blending discordant races and jarring nations into one great brotherhood of subjection— such was the Papal hierarchy, a marvel and mystery.

In addition to the theoretical framework he set out and the reliability of the sources cited, the lack of texts offering a historical overview on these issues

34. *Superstition and Force*, 1866 (re-ed. 1870), p. 13.

35. *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, 1907, p. 2.

earned Lea's book a wide readership and considerable critical attention in Europe. In the *History of European Morals*, W. E. H. Lecky, his friend and colleague, noted this response, describing Lea's research as belonging among the works which had shed most light on the moral context of the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, and in spite of the academic prestige his books acquired in academic circles in Europe, Lea was forced on a number of occasions to defend himself against the charge of being a religious polemicist and to justify his relatively limited reference to the type of texts then in vogue. E. Sculley quoted from Lea's correspondence in this regard; his comments are more revealing with regard to the method he followed rather than the religious positions he adopted; for example, Lea wrote: "I have never sought to influence the religious beliefs of others, but I have always been inspired with the desire to ascertain and set forth impartially the absolute facts of history and let them teach their own lesson", and "...I found the danger of trusting to second-hand authorities"³⁶.

To sum up, therefore, the 1860s were a key stage in Lea's development as a historian, to which his first publications are clear testament. Lea made good use of those years, which also encompass the period of the Civil War, to expand his private archive of chronicle and documentary sources; a reading of his personal correspondence at the time shows that he did so in order to fan the flames of his study and research. To further his acquisition of relevant texts, Lea had formed a network of contacts on continental Europe, which was firmly established by 1868-1869; the objective was to acquire all the necessary materials required to provide a detailed, indeed exhaustive, historical account. His determination to add copies of original texts to his personal library is also evident in the period from 1870-1875, when he had already thrown himself into the study of sorcery and witchcraft, as well as the Inquisition. Copies of documentary, chronicle and literary books came from Venice, Naples, Florence, Milan, Bologna, the Vatican Archives in Rome, the Royal Library in Copenhagen, the Bodleian at Oxford, Trinity College Library (Dublin); from Switzerland and the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany (Bonn, Halle, Kiel, Munich), Austria, France, South and Central America (Mexico, Peru and Guatemala), and Spain. Not only did his commitment involve significant financial investment, Lea also had to rely on a network of co-workers, academics and diplomats, with sufficient influence to engage the services of experienced copyists capable of producing error and errata-free copies of the documents. Lea dealt with the sources in their original languages: Latin,

36. Sculley, *Henry Charles Lea*, pp. 134-135.

Greek, French, Italian and Spanish; he also had a working knowledge of German, Hebrew and Sanskrit.

Studies in Church History was published in November 1869. Given that its origin, too, lies in an article that had appeared in the *North American Review* – “The Temporal Power of the Church” (1861) – the publication history of the book is similar to that of *Superstition and Force*. For the first edition of *Studies*, Lea revised the article and added two further chapters: “Excommunication and Benefit of Clergy”; another chapter was included in the 1883 edition of the text, “Early Church and Slavery”, which had also been previously published as an article in 1865. In the preface to the 1869 edition, Lea articulated the guiding principle of his work: to describe the temporal face of ecclesiastical history and, in particular, the relationships between the spiritual and temporal powers, thus making reference to aspects of theocratic despotism.

Lea forged his reputation as a specialist in medieval ecclesiastical institutions through the publication of his first three books. In spite of the difficulties involved in acquiring the required sources, Lea succeeded in presenting verifiable facts and events because of the financial resources on which he could draw and the research procedure he followed.

Lea’s first period of historiographical work ran in tandem with the emergence of liberal movements in Europe and questions regarding the governing role of the Catholic Church on the old continent and – by extension – in the new world. Every line in the three books is imbued with this concern. Aside from the specific issues with which Lea dealt in each, the underlying context of the work as a whole consists in calling into question the authority of the Catholic Church, which had been a matter of debate in the First Vatican Council (1870). Lea concluded that this authority be equated with the authoritarianism through which the medieval ecclesiastical hierarchy had laid claim to control over forms of thought. Despite his good intentions, Lea was unable to move wholly beyond religious polemic in his work; and although he did point out that they belonged to a different plane of argument to the spiritual functions of the Church, his views on theocratic despotism surfaced in this regard.

Inquisition

Following his first engagement with the field of historical study described above, Lea published the following works: *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (1887), *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition* (1890), *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary* (1892), *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church* (1896), *The Mor-*

iscos of Spain (1901), *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (1906-1907), and *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (1908).

During the final and most fruitful stage of his career, the Inquisition was the main focus of Lea's project of historical inquiry. However, Edward Peters has pointed out that this topic was not the natural culmination of Lea's previous research. Rather, Lea saw in the Inquisition: "algo que hablaba profundamente a los intereses liberales del siglo XIX; pero a diferencia de Motley, no la tomó por un caballo de batalla para estimular sentimientos antiespañoles o anticatólicos, y parece que de hecho tuvo Lea poca paciencia con quienes aspiraban a reclutarlo para la gran cruzada contra el papado"³⁷.

The first volume was published in November 1887; two further volumes appeared in March 1888. As the opening lines to his study of the Inquisition make clear, Lea's purpose was to explore and explain the matrix of elements which had combined to give rise to this ecclesiastical institution³⁸:

It [the Inquisition] was rather a natural—one may almost say an inevitable—evolution of the forces at work in the thirteenth century, and no one can rightly appreciate the process of its development and the results of its activity without a somewhat minute consideration of the factors controlling the minds and souls of men during the ages which laid the foundation of modern civilization.

Volume I centers on an examination of the "Origin and Organization of the Inquisition", which laid the groundwork for the centralization of the Church in the aftermath of the Gregorian reform, a process which had also sparked the emergence of a number of heretical movements. Tribunals of the Inquisition, largely composed of members of the Dominican Order, were established in the mid-thirteenth century to combat such movements. Lea also addresses the organization, method and procedures of the Inquisition, as well as the relationships between the Inquisition and secular powers. The focus of Volume II is "The Inquisition in the several lands of Christendom Languedoc, France, the Spanish Peninsula, Italy, the Slavic Cathary, Germany and Bohemia" until the time of the Reformation, and centers on the Valdenses and the teachings and arguments advanced by John Wycliffe, Jan Huss, Johannes Reuchlin and Martin Luther, among others. In Volume III, entitled "Special fields of Inquisitorial activity", Lea analyzes the heresies combated by the Inquisition, such as the origins of the Guglielmites and the Fraticelli; the Inquisition's incur-

37. Peters, "Una morada de monstruos", p. 537.

38. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1955), vol. 1, p. iii, *Preface*.

sions into political matters, against the Colonnas, Visconti, Cola di Rienzo and Girolamo Savonarola; and the persecution of the Knights Templar and Joan of Arc. The book comes to a close with a set of chapters on witchcraft.

Lea's book provoked a considerable response in academic circles in Europe; this response was not only due to the thesis articulated therein and the guiding principle that had shaped such an unprecedented work, but also to the wealth and variety of sources he adduced to his case. Lea owed his access to these sources to the cooperation of friends and colleagues in Europe, including William E. H. Lecky, John W. Allen, S. Austion Allibone, José Amador de los Ríos and G. B. de Lagrèze, who supplied him with the *Codex Moldenhawerianus*, a manuscript held at the Royal Library in Copenhagen – a unique document containing a kind of dictionary of laws and norms of the Spanish Inquisition compiled by members of the Inquisition itself.

Between 1864 and 1871 Lea also acquired a significant proportion of the works of Juan Antonio Llorente, a former secretary to the Spanish Inquisition who controlled access to its archives in the period from 1809 to 1813. A select list of the works published by Llorente includes the following: *Annales de la Inquisición*, 2 vols. (1812) and *Histoire critique de L'Inquisition de L'Espagne*, 4 vols. (1817-1818)³⁹. In 1865 Lea received a copy of Thomas McCrie's book, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century*. (Edinburgh, 1829); and in 1868, the work of Luis de Páramo, an inquisitor-cleric from Sicily, *De origine et progressu officii Sanctae Inquisitionis*. (Madrid, 1598). Páramo's text aims to legitimize the inquisitorial tribunal in historical terms, and records the fundamental thinking regarding the origins, functions and activity of the Inquisition. Further additions to Lea's library at that time include *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispanicae Artes aliquot detectae, ac palam traductae* (1567) by the Spanish Protestant writer Reinaldo González de Montes, and the three-volume work by Michael Geddes, *Miscellaneous Tracts*. By 1873, Lea was also in possession of *La Inquisición sin mascara* by Antonio Puigblanch, which was published pseudonymously under the name Natanael Jomtob in Cadiz (1811).

Lea also had access to *Records of the Spanish Inquisition translated from the Original Manuscripts*, accounts of Inquisition processes rescued from the looting of the Archive of the Inquisition during the uprising in Barcelona in 1820. Another significant addition to Lea's collection was William Sime's *History*

39. The full title is : *Histoire critique de L'Inquisition de L'Espagne, depuis l'époque de son établissement par Ferdinand V jusqu'au règne de Ferdinand VII, tirée de pièces originales des archives du Conseil de la Suprême, et de celles des tribunaux subalternes du Sainte-Office*.

of the Inquisition, *From its Establishment till the Present Time*, which was published in Philadelphia, the publication of which is an indication of the fascination inspired by the Inquisition in the United States in the 1830s⁴⁰.

Access to all of this material, which was supplemented by a great deal more from other parts of Europe and the Spanish dependencies (including Mexico and Peru), enabled Lea to write and publish *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition* (1890), *A History of the Inquisition of Spain* (1906-1907) and *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, 4 vols. (1908). In 1909, Charles H. Haskins described Lea's work on the Inquisition as among the most significant and mature research of its kind because: "the nature of the Holy Office is manifested in its normal operations rather than in the sensational episodes of its history, and its significance is shown to lie 'not so much in the awful solemnities of the *auto de fe* or in the cases of a few celebrated victims, as in the silent influence exercised by its incessant and secret labours among the mass of the people and in the limitations which it placed upon the Spanish intellect'"⁴¹.

Lea would go on to publish *A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary* (1892), *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church* (1896), *The moriscos of Spain* (1901), and more than twenty scholarly articles on issues relating to the Inquisition. A study of witchcraft remained unpublished at the time of the historian's death; it was published posthumously by Arthur Howland under the title, *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft* (1939).

Given that he sought to liberate his approach from predetermined models, and thus did not engage with contemporary works on the history of the church, Lea could ignore all forms of historiographical and religious controversy. Moreover, as the readings of his personal correspondence supplied by E. Sculley and E. Peters make clear, Lea studiously avoided direct confrontation with the Catholic Church in his historical inquiry. Nonetheless, as a representative of the progressive voice in North-American historiography, the background to his work is also marked by an interrogation of the nature and role of the Church in the United States⁴².

40. Peters, "Una morada de monstruos", pp. 522-526 y 538.

41. Charles Homer Haskins, "Henry Charles Lea", in *Studies in Mediaeval Culture* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1929), p. 260; reprinted from Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, xliii. 183-188 (December 1909).

42. "Comencé mis estudios medievales sin prejuicio alguno adverso al catolicismo, pero hallé ser la Iglesia un sistema político adverso a los intereses de la humanidad. Contra ella en cuanto religión yo no tengo nada que decir" (Carta a Salomon Reinach, 1901), Peters, "Una morada de monstruos", p. 540.

The historiographical approach he followed led Lea to the conclusion that study of the Inquisition and other phenomena of temporal ecclesiastical power was the ideal context in which to show that jurisprudence was the means by which hierarchies mounted a complex system of control over man's intelligence and moral conscience. In simplified terms, his position may be read as articulating the conflict between freedom and religion. However, in light of Lea's commitment to the work at hand and the detailed nature of his thesis and criticism, this bald statement yields an impoverished view of the historian's work. His understanding of the ability of representatives of ecclesiastical power to modify social behavior through the implementation of repressive measures was facilitated by his analysis of some Catholic Church institutions; and his work as a whole enabled Lea to articulate his thesis regarding how institutions affect moral and social development and expression.

The historical truth of the matter could not be grounded on a merely superficial reading of events; rather, it was the fruit of Lea's determination to recover what underlay and lay hidden in the historical narratives and juridical texts of the medieval period. Hence, Lea attributed greater significance to the issue of historical interpretation, a more challenging objective in the reconstruction of past societies, than to the question of historical moralization. The latter is of secondary importance to the former in the field of academic inquiry. Personal sympathy or antipathy towards specific actions undertaken by the Church was tempered by consideration of their importance or influence on European society as a whole⁴³.

One consideration stood out among all the lessons he drew from his study of ecclesiastical institutions; this view definitively marked Lea's historical concerns and his interpretation of human development – what he referred to as “the inner life of a people”⁴⁴.

Final remarks

In order to evaluate the historical legacy of Henry Charles Lea, three principles which expressed and shaped the intellectual framework of his work in significant ways must be borne in mind. These three distinctive aspects of Lea's approach, as outlined above, were key elements in the historiographical and methodological vision of his role as a historian. First and foremost was the

43. E.-A. Ryan, “The Religion of Henry Charles Lea”, in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S. J.* (Gembloux: Éditions J. Duculot, S.A., 1951), pp. 1043-1051.

44. *Vid.* note 28.

commitment to using a meticulous scientific method in historical inquiry, a skill and habit Lea had acquired through his study of the natural sciences, and which he perfected through his work on sources from different European libraries and archives in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s.

Lea's study of ecclesiastical institutions – in particular, the Inquisition – was facilitated by the restructuring of European archives in the nineteenth century and his independent financial status: he was able to locate and acquire copies of documents and chronicles that would, in other circumstances, have remained beyond his reach. These acquisitions were not merely new additions to his personal collection; they were read in detail, analyzed and interpreted, and their contents assimilated. As a result of Lea's focus on ecclesiastical institutions, the issues raised became part of the work of historical science.

Secondly, the technical skills he had acquired in his youth enabled Lea to devote more time to developing his interest in theoretical reflection on the objectives and forms of historical inquiry⁴⁵. Under the influence of both anti-Spanish and anti-absolutist viewpoints, contemporary romantic historians in the United States had also formulated a theory of historical narrative, which drew on moral perspectives and was, as a consequence, subjective. In contrast, however, Lea immediately took a different tack, a stand against deference to moral judgments: events and facts are objective and are to be presented as such, thus allowing each reader to draw his/her own conclusions⁴⁶. Lea was convinced that if the spirit of the age being recreated and described was to be faithfully rendered, then historical judgments were to be kept to a minimum. Lea's critical position was grounded in a paradigm framed by modes of persecution in the medieval and modern worlds, and sought to show how the human spirit may betray its own best intentions, thus causing direct and indirect forms of harm.

This critical independence, which is precluded to current historiographical criticism by the nineteenth-century North-American context, enabled Lea to define the objective of his inquiry in exact terms: a study of the underlying motives at work in history, a nuanced treatment of the issues as he himself avowed in the introductory pages to his various works.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, and in line with his independent critical conviction, Lea adopted neither an anti-Catholic nor an anti-Spanish

45. "... and declare his ideal of history to be 'a serious attempt to ascertain the severest truth as to the past and to set it forth without fear or favour'" (Charles Homer Haskins, "Henry Charles Lea", p. 261).

46. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, vol. 1, p. iv, *Preface*.

standpoint; rather, he held that arguments must be based on documentary evidence. Indeed, because he refused to stake out a clear position with regard to the coercive power of the Church, many anti-Catholic thinkers and organizations were unable to identify with Lea, as a historian or as a person. Technique and objective are organically intertwined in Lea's approach to research; however, given that he was a contemporary of the progressive movement in historical study, his work falls short of historiographical modernity, a position to which he was only able to lay claim in theoretical terms.

Thirdly, the fact that Lea's work belongs to the context of North-American romanticism cannot be ignored; the vision of European history reflected in this tradition prompted a selective interest in those topics which might bear out the weaknesses and contradictions of the old world, in contrast to the new liberal and democratic spirit of the American people. The primary concerns of the first generation of such historians, including Motley and Parkman, were political absolutism and the lack of religious freedom (especially the latter). America had no historical past; historians of the medieval period in the United States projected their nineteenth-century preoccupation onto the backdrop of the European Middle Ages, a monsters' ball of stereotypes and obscurantist dilemmas.

In contrast to the historical vision of Henry Adams, scientific rigor, an objective conception of history, and the commitment inherent in the new socially progressive American order were three complex forces at work in Lea's academic project, which succeeded in the end in raising ecclesiastical history to the status of historical science.

Chronology

- 1825 Henry Charles Lea is born on the 21st of September in Philadelphia.
- 1843 Joins the family business, the publishing company "M. Carey & Sons".
- 1847 His professional activity leaves him on the verge of complete physical collapse; gradually sets aside his publications in the fields of the natural sciences and literary criticism.
- 1850 Marries Anne Caroline Jaudon, his cousin.
- 1858 Publishes his first work in the area of medieval history, a review of Palgrave's book, *History of Normandy and England*.
- 1861-1865 Plays an active part in the American Civil War, on the Union side.
- 1878-1884 Renewed health problems force him to reduce his commitment to research activity.
- 1880 Gradually parts company with the publishing business.

1887-1888 Publishes the three-volume work, *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*.

1902 Elected president of the *American Historical Association*.

1906-1907 Publishes *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*.

1909 Dies on the 24th of October, at the age of 84.

Selected Bibliography

The historian's unpublished papers, diaries, notes, correspondence and books are conserved in the Henry Charles Lea Library at the University of Pennsylvania.

1. Historical Books

Superstition and Force: Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal-Torture (Philadelphia: H. C. Lea, 1866; revised and enlarged, 1870, 1878, and 1892).

An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1867); revised as *History of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1907; London: Williams & Norgate, 1907).

Studies in Church History: The Rise of the Temporal Power, Benefit of Clergy, Excommunication (Philadelphia: H. C. Lea/London: Low, Son & Marston, 1869); enlarged edition (Philadelphia: H. C. Lea's Son, 1883) and adds the essay "The Early Church and Slavery".

A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages, 3 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1887-1888; London: Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1888).

Chapters from the Religious History of Spain connected with the Inquisition (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1890).

Is There a Roman Catholic Church? An Excursus in Scholastic Theology (Philadelphia: Dornan, 1891).

A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century, edited by Lea (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1892).

A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1896; London: Sonnenschein, 1896).

The Death Hand: A Brief Sketch of the Relations Between Church and State with Regard to Ecclesiastical Property and the Religious Orders (Philadelphia: Dornam, 1900).

- The Moriscos of Spain: Their conversion and expulsion* (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers, 1901; London: Quaritch, 1901).
- A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan/London: Macmillan, 1906-1907).
- The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies: Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Milan, the Canaries, Mexico, Peru, New Granada*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan/London: Macmillan, 1908).
- Materials toward a History of Witchcraft*, edited by Arthur C. Howland, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1939).
- Minor Historical Writings and other Essays*, edited by Arthur C. Howland (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942).

2. Articles

See the complete list of works supplied by Edward Sculley, *Henry Charles Lea. A Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931), pp. 365-384.

2. Works on Henry Charles Lea

- Edward Sculley Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea. A Biography* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931).
- R. Kenneth Bussy, *Two Hundred Years of Publishing: a History of the Oldest Publishing Company in the United States. Lea & Febiger 1785-1985* (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1985).
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- Robert B. Patterson, "Henry Charles Lea", in *Dictionary of Literary Biography. 47. American Historians, 1866-1912*, edited by Clyde N. Wilson (Detroit-Michigan: Gale Research Company, 1986), pp. 153-157.
- Edward Peters, "Una morada de monstruos: Henry Charles Lea y el descubrimiento americano de la Inquisición", in Angel Alcalá et al. (eds.), *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial. Ponencias del Simposio Internacional sobre Inquisición Nueva York, abril de 1983* (Barcelona: Ariel, 1984), pp. 518-541.

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Edgar de Bruyne (1898 – 1959)

Ricardo Piñero

The work of the Belgian Mediaevalist Edgar de Bruyne undoubtedly continues to be a reference point without paragon for all those interested in gaining further insight into medieval aesthetics. He was born in Ypres on the 18th April 1898 and died in Brussels in May 1959. He held the position of Professor of Philosophy at the University of Ghent, and in 1945, during the government of Van Acker¹, he was designated Minister for the Colonies. Our scholar not only made a canonical compilation of authors and texts; his interpretations have been sufficiently successful to occupy a place of relevance in the hearts and minds of all medievalists. Most work carried out today is based on his *Études*, from both a historical perspective and from systematic considerations. The aim of this article is dual: on the one hand it seems necessary to address, and in all rigour, certain aspects of his intellectual biography, starting from his training in the Leuven School and his decidedly neo-scholastic orientation and, on the other, we feel the need for a reflection about his most relevant works, such as *Études d'esthétique mediaévale* or *L'esthétique du Moyen Âge*. And all this without overlooking his research works, such as *Geschiedenis van de aesthetica*.

The structure of the present contribution is as follows. First, we address the specific keys that underlie the theoretical framework within which this scholar of aesthetics deployed his thinking, tracing what we might call his intellectual biography. Although it is true that Cardinal Mercier and the Leuven School, both of which were so influential for our author, based themselves on the phenomenological and Kantian outlook, the considerations of our Belgian philosopher are oriented more towards a rediscovery of the Middle Ages, on an aesthetic note that surpasses the exclusively neo-Thomist focuses, and de Bruyne culminates by daring to formulate a theory of ideas. In this latter task, Prof. de Bruyne consistently demonstrates an impeccable historiographic honesty: accessing sources, translating and ordering, classify-

1. Achille Van Acker (8 April 1898- 10 July 1975) was the Belgian Prime Minister in three different cabinets between 1945 and 1958, for a total of 7 years. Van Acker is known as the father of Belgian Social Security. This statesman was a socialist MP from 1927 and ended his political career as the President of the Parliament (1961- 1974). He is considered to be one of the founders of European integration.

ing and analysing all authors who, thanks to his efforts, are now better known in our times.

Second, it seems crucial to explore, albeit schematically, the situation of aesthetic studies of the Middle Ages was the times of de Bruyne in order to gain a more appropriate view of the true relevance of the contributions of our medievalist author. In this brief synthesis, we shall have to refer to the works of Benedetto Croce, Bernard Bosanquet, George Saintsbury and Hans Hermann Glunz, among others.

Finally, we shall consider the main texts of the author, on one hand highlighting the methodological aspects that were the basis of his research and, on the other, attempting to indicate the reach of his philosophical reflections, whose presence is still seen today in innumerable works in the area of medieval aesthetics.

Nulla Aesthetica Sine Ethica: Towards A Theory Of Aesthetic Ideas

One of the most significant aspects of the work of Edgar de Bruyne is his attempt to configure a true theory about aesthetic ideas and thinking in the Middle Ages. Judging by the huge number of publications he produced along his academic career the philosophical interests of our author can be loosely classified in three large blocks: ethics, aesthetics, and logic; i.e., a complete overview indeed of medieval philosophy.

When towards the middle of the 1920's, Edgar de Bruyne became a professor at the University, he took charge of ethics classes. As we learn from Prof. L. de Raeymaeker, recalling the work of the recently deceased Belgian medievalist, and paraphrasing:

When he became a tenured lecturer at the University of Ghent, Edgar de Bruyne found himself in charge of the Ethics program. He was devoted to and very sincere about preparing his lectures, as was typical: he was able to adapt himself to his audience and it was precisely with the active participation of his students that he was able to progressively set forth the bases and overarching fundamentals of a system of morals. He was enthusiastic about these studies -previously unattractive to him- and published several works: notably the three volumes that appeared under the title of *Ethica* between 1932 and 1936.

Of special interest in this monumental work is the method followed by the author, who first establishes a well grounded starting point through patient phenomenological descriptions of the common, and indeed characteristic, quotidian events that he felt to be moral (such as remorse) and the

development of humankind's moral sense. He then progresses to a critical exploration of these aspects, and finally deduces the metaphysical implications. It is a pity that in later times he never found the time to revisit, as he so much wished, this vast area of research and metaphysical reflection. Had he done so, he would have been able to systematize the conclusions more compactly and better develop the lines of his final synthesis. Despite everything, these studies, which lasted almost a quarter of a century, are among the most original and significant of those published by contemporary Catholic thinkers in the domain of moral philosophy².

Thus, the rigorous methodological stance held by our author, in which he starts out with description and ends with deduction, passing through a careful critical analysis of moral problems, has become an exemplary model whose end is to offer a rigorous clarification of human *éthos* in the light of transcendence.

The second area of his work -his contribution to the history of mediaeval aesthetics- is certainly a reflection of his intellectual prowess. Above all, the contributions of our Belgian mediaevalist are proof of the excellence of his personal work. It is certainly true, until that time, and from the point of view of aesthetics, the Middle Ages had not been addressed with the necessary care or profundity required. The work dealing with *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* had instead vividly, and attractively, explored some aspects of sensibility oriented towards the dawn of the Renaissance. However, it remained to find a well orchestrated and sufficiently broad exposition of the overall issue; of the aesthetic ideals that had persisted for more than eight hundred years of our history. Over eight centuries, Europe saw the birth of the Romanesque abbeys -whose sobriety and robustness themselves speak of the importance of Christian thought and theology-, the immense Gothic cathedrals -true halls of light and revelation-, Gregorian chant, as an aesthetic experience of transcendence from immanence-, and also the epic poetry exemplified in the *Chansons de Geste*, together with the production of innumerable texts and plastic works that pointed to the unstoppable deployment of a culture that became increasingly rooted and increasingly interiorised. Below we shall analyse the project that culminated in the publication of the *Études*, but for the time being we shall only refer to the fact that the most striking aspect of these (the *Études*) is the vast landscape of the material presented. The author shunned other focuses, such as Art History or the History of Literature, but

2. L.de Raeymaecker, 'In memoriam Edgar de Bruyne', *Rev. Philos. Louvain*, 57 (1959), 268-286, (p. 288).

what his work profiled, defined and contributed is above all a critical and ordered view of medieval thought, focused on the study of the theories of artistic and moral natural beauty, and on the Fine Arts and their productive and symbolic capacities.

Logic, understood as a true propaedeutics of Metaphysics, formed the basis of the final efforts of Edgar de Bruyne. His posthumous work entitled *Grondproblemen van de wijsgerige logica*, whose manuscript from 1945 is conserved at the University of Ghent³, has as its main aim the consolidation of metaphysics through the complexity of logic and the scientific methodology of the contemporary world. Along almost a thousand pages, the reader is guided through the most relevant texts of classical and modern philosophers, covering the different schools of formal logic, ranging from Aristotelian-scholastic works up to contemporary trends. Many philosophical models are addressed in detail as regards the different modes of thinking (technical, verbal, ideological, symbolic) and there are also many studies concerning the methodological content of the various sciences. The work concludes with an exposition of the particular methods of all the sciences, be they natural or spiritual, revising the approach of observational and experimental methods, mathematical and intuitive methods, and also addressing phenomenological approaches

However, after this brief overview of the profile and research fields of Prof. de Bruyne, we should highlight the fact that his contributions are especially relevant in the field of Aesthetics. It can be categorically claimed that his efforts were most original and fruitful in this discipline. The approach underpinning the work of our medievalist was to construct a true history of aesthetic ideas in the Middle Ages and, furthermore, a true theory of aesthetic ideas, starting out from those times but still valid and coherent in the contemporary world. Although he has always been considered a neo-scholastic, this idea requires a certain qualification. The Neo-scholastics of the twentieth century were radically based on demonstrating the current validity of the ideas of Saint Thomas of Aquinas, but the relevance of the *Angelic Doctor* in his own times was overlooked. Edgar de Bruyne, however, was to try to make the Middle Ages present for us, liberating the idea of medieval aesthetics from those of Thomist aesthetics. In other words, the Belgian medievalist aspired to forming a broader view of medieval aesthetics than the reductionist view posed by the neo-Scholastics in the field of aesthetics; and to do so he had to «forget» not

3. Cf. *Grondproblemen van de wijsgerige logica*; Descr.: 1 doos; 4th autograph; Shelf.; BHSL. HS. 3664.

Saint Thomas Aquinas, but the purely Thomist focus that most neo-Scholastics had adopted.

It should not be overlooked that for de Bruyne, Saint Thomas Aquinas is one of the central pivots of medieval thinking, but his good sense of history led him to reflect upon the fact that this unique figure of the Middle Ages was actually the result of a well defined tradition, which encompassed men of the stature of Saint Augustine or Boethius within the philosophical trends of the Pythagorean and Neoplatonic traditions. Thus, starting out with a compilation, analysis, translation and ordering of texts it is possible to gain further insight into the sources of the aesthetics of Saint Thomas of Aquinas, the ideas that most influenced him and how -with de Bruyne's particular intelligence and critical sense- they were transformed and reformulated. De Bruyne was a Neo-scholastic who did not base his work exclusively on St. Thomas Aquinas; instead, he preferred to create a broader, richer reconstruction of the medieval period admitted a longer range in time and vaster plurality of ideas. Our Ghent professor was decidedly against a mere aesthetic *archeo-Thomism* and with his investigations he allows us the possibility to view, from within their own intellectual *locus*, authors of philosophical relevance such as Robert Grosseteste, Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure or Duns Scotus, to mention but a few.

If one reduces medieval aesthetics to Thomist aesthetics, one is unjustly and short-sightedly condensing the richness of medieval aesthetics. Beyond anything else, this axiom reveals a profound intellectual honesty. Only those who dare go deeper into the sources, many of them hitherto unexplored, can show us that overall medieval aesthetics is a polyphonic *oeuvre*, in which -with an extraordinary array of nuances- many other melodies also sing out: not merely those composed by the author of *Summa Theologica*. Thanks to Bruyne's *Études*, we may educate our aesthetic senses to become aware that that there were many and varied issues and ideas that - sometimes with little variation- pervaded eight centuries of aesthetic thinking in which reflections on the beauty of God, natural beauty and the beauty of the Arts emerge. This diversity of issues and tastes throughout the Middle Ages was perfectly encapsulated by de Bruyne at the end of the 1930's in his critique of the work of Glunz about different literary theories. This is why he defines the medieval artistic civilisation as a polyphonic construct.

Although de Bruyne maintained a systematic perspective in his methodology, the approach of his *Études* nonetheless unfolded from a historical perspective, allowing a glimpse of an upward-moving spiral. The historical perspective led him to begin his investigations on mediaeval aesthetics with

Augustine, Boethius, Cassiodorus and Isidorus, ending with Scotus. This same approach is present in the five volumes of his history of aesthetics (*Geschiedenis van de aesthetica*), published between 1952 and 1955. On this occasion, he was to start out from Greek and Roman thinking, from its most archaic manifestations -the period of crisis in the fifth century BC and the Socratic period- to what he himself called the period of “decadence”, naturally not disregarding the great classic figures such as Plato and Aristotle. Indeed, the presentation of his ideas about these continues to be canonical. Before addressing the medieval period, his history orchestrates the presence of aesthetic thought in the period of Christian persecutions in the works of the early Apologetics and of people such as Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertulianus, Minucius and Arnobius of Sicca. He later tackled the authors who formed the very foundations of medieval civilization, such as Basilus Magnus, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Gregorius of Nicenus, Ambrosius and Hieronymus. After this guided tour through the beginnings of free Christendom, Bruyne arrived at what he called a «new dawn», where he was to situate the aesthetic theories of Pseudo-Dionysius and Saint Augustine. After these, a period of transition period arrived that would lead to the Carolingian civilisation and, later, he addressed the Renaissance of the Arts (literary, plastic, and musical), together with the new philosophical conceptions that would lead to the beginning of a positive aesthetics in Roger Bacon and Villard de Honnecourt and a diverse series of theories about beauty that our author qualified as «dialectic», among which are those of William of Auvergne, Alexander Halensis, Saint Bonaventure, Albertus Magnus, Ulricus of Strassburg or Saint Thomas of Aquinas himself and John Duns Scotus. The flowering of Scholastics would finally give way to the new theories that would allow the presence of the Renaissance to be glimpsed, among others through the hands of Dante and Cennino Cennini.

In this *guided tour*, there is -sometimes implicitly and others more explicitly- a certain conviction that the thinking of mediaeval aesthetics *evolved*, despite maintaining a certain thematic consistency over the centuries. Our author seems to offer, without departing from the original sources, an evolutionary theory of aesthetic ideas that fans out from certain “meanders”, which allowed some kind of intellectual progress, although without stridency, jumps, theoretical lacunae, or conceptual abysses. Although de Bruyne was a Neo-scholastic whose discourse began with Thomas Aquinas, and who possessed an intellectual heritage similar to the Angelic doctor, the Belgian scholar’s invaluable achievement was to demonstrate the existence of aesthetics in the Middle Ages. This aesthetics, which is characteristically evolutionary, included not only St. Thomas, but also others, who helped configure an overarching

theory of aesthetic ideas. Paradoxically, the Belgian mediaevalist had to *de-Thomistise* medieval aesthetics to reach this conclusion. In his exposition, de Bruyne harks upon the virtue of prudence, very much in vogue in those times, and converts the sentence of the L'École de Châtres to the effect that we are no more than dwarves on giants' shoulders in a philosophical exercise.

Status Quaestionis: The Studies of Mediaeval Aesthetics before Edgar de Bruyne

Becoming a mediaevalist is not merely the result of chance. Above all it demands a serious intellectual project in which not only certain heuristic skills or certain tools are brought into play, but also an ideal. Indeed, the horizon of the Middle Ages -as a vast cultural production that lasted more than a thousand years, cannot be a simple or uniform *uni-verse* but, rather, must be a *di-verse* full of nuances and contrasts in which the positing of a unitary stance, if not a theoretical impossibility, is at least a challenge that can be surmounted only with rigour, hard work, and generosity, both intellectual and vital as well as moral. The challenge of carrying out *studies* on the Middle Ages is in itself a plural project because only in the recognition of the diversity of such a rich and fecund period can we glimpse its true identity; an identity that makes it one of the best scenarios in which, as human beings, we can contemplate the grandeur of the human condition.

Let us begin with facts. All university people in the Middle Ages, be they *artists* or *theologians*, at some time in their lives *were interested in studying philosophy*. Using philosophy to instrumentalise their interpretations, their exegeses, their discussions and even their problematics, every one of them -even though they were passionately hostile to the *philosophi-* developed arguments, concepts or answers to philosophical issues. In this sense, all of them were intellectuals or philosophers. However, we expect more of a philosopher than his or her knowledge of the subject [...]. Behind the philosopher, we wish to discover *a need of philosophy*, an ideal, an aesthetics, a way of living⁴.

Perhaps this *need for philosophy* is one of the first horizons that we must consider when confronting the Edgar de Bruyne's studies on medieval aesthetics. As a philosopher, we attribute to him a certain intellectual attitude, a job where thinking becomes a precision tool. Nevertheless, our author also developed his work on the basis of an overarching passion: from a decided desire

4. Alain de Libera, *Penser au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Seuil, 1991) [Spanish Ed : *Pensar en la Edad media* (Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial, 2000), pp. 88-89].

to provide urgent answers to certain gaps that were apparent to him in investigations about mediaeval thinking in the setting of aesthetics.

According to the catalogue of the main publications on aesthetics, we can situate the beginnings of modern historiography about this discipline in the work of Bernard Bosanquet, who, along the 500 pages of *A History of Aesthetics*⁵, which appeared for the first time at the end of the nineteenth century, reserves thirty of them for the medieval period. For this historian, what is fundamental to aesthetics derives from both the positing of reconciliation between reason and sensibility and from the relevance of the development of art criticism (bearing a strong resemblance to Kantian approaches). However, in de Bruyne's opinion neither problem was addressed until the fourteenth century, such that his view of the contributions of the *Middle Ages* in the disciplinary constitution of aesthetics is, if not complete, at least precise up to a certain point.

Along the same historical research line, we have the work of Benedetto Croce. His *Eстетика*⁶ appeared in 1902. This is a work of four hundred pages, offering an exposition from the "archaeological" perspective. However, the space reserved for the Middle Ages scarcely occupies one percent of the tome. The Italian thinker considers that aesthetics – as referred to philosophical reflection about art (since the problem of natural beauty fails to attract his attention) would begin with authors such as G.B. Vico or Alexander Baumgarten.

From another perspective, 1930 saw the appearance of the work of George Saintsbury, *A history of English criticism, being the English chapters of a history and criticism and literary taste in Europe*⁷. This work gives voice to artists, instead of to philosophers and theologians. Two of the chapters are devoted to medieval aesthetics. The first is oriented in general to "Medieval criticism" and the second to highlighting the contributions of the medieval period within the field of literary criticism. From the philosophical point of view, the work stems from a tradition that underscores the importance of rhetorical theories and of the allegorical use of language in the actual formation or shaping of art.

Nineteen thirty-eight saw the publication of a critique by Edgar de Bruyne in the journal *Revue néo-classique de philosophie* on *Die Literaturästhetik des*

5. (London: S. Sonnenschein & Co.; New Cork: Macmillan & Co., 1892).

6. *Eстетica come scienza dell'espressione e linguistica generale* (Milan: R. Sanaron, 1902).

7. (Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons Ltd., 1930).

*europäischen Mittelalters*⁸. The work addressed, by Hans Hermann Glunz, had been published the previous year and its central core is an analysis of the development of literary tastes between the seventh and fourteenth centuries. Along the work, Glunz considers some of the aspects of the influence of Neo-Platonist philosophy in certain writers, but de Bruyne reproaches the fact, which for him was a serious matter, that Glunz failed to tackle the study of the main mediaeval theoretical currents. He is undoubtedly referring to two large gaps: on one hand, the failure to refer to the aesthetics of light and proportion, and on the other, the failure to address the psychological aesthetics of the Victorines.

Together with these works in the field of aesthetics itself, during the first years of the twentieth century, we can also focus on some erudite works in the neighbouring field of art history, which our Belgian medievalist was undoubtedly very familiar with. In 1911 Victor Motet published his *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'architecture et à la condition des architectes en France au Moyen Âge, XI^{ème} et XII^{ème} siècle*⁹; and some years later, in 1924, the masterpiece of Julius von Schlosser appeared – *Die Kunstliteratur*¹⁰ – in which more than 20 pages are devoted to the medieval theory of the arts. In 1946, The year in which *Études* was published, Erwin Panofsky published his book on Abbott Suger of Saint Denis¹¹, although the central focus of his attention was literature and the arts, without overlooking of course canonical references to the philosophical and theological thinking of the times. The same year saw the publication of a work by Dom Henry Pouillon: *La beauté propriété transcendente chez les scholastiques (1220-1270)* in the *Archives d'histoire doctrinale y littéraire du Moyen Âge* (vol 15), a study that de Bruyne was also familiar with, since he cites this author on several occasions and was aware of Pouillon's other works.

In 1953, Katharine E. Gilbert and Helmut Kuhn published their *History of Esthetics*¹² – in which they expand and revise the 1939 edition¹³ – devoting somewhat less than 50 pages to medieval aesthetics. Although they do not cite de Bruyne, it is clear that this work takes advantage of the research into sources carried out by our author. In 1954, Rocco Montano, published a good

8. (Bochum-Landendreer: H. Pöppinghaus o.h., 1937).

9. (Paris: A. Pickard et fils, 1911).

10. (Wein: A. Schroll & Co., Ges. M.b.H., 1924)

11. Cf. *Abbott Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1946).

12. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1953)

13. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939).

synthesis of medieval aesthetics, one that was clearly indebted to the *Études*, in the fifth volume of *Grande Antologia Filosofica*¹⁴ directed by Umberto Antonio Padovani and coordinated by Andrea Mario Moschetti. Throughout almost 200 pages the reader is offered an anthology, together with trenchant comments, of aesthetics in Christian thinking. In 1961, Rosario Assunto published *La critica d'arte nel pensiero medioevale*¹⁵, a book of almost 500 pages on art criticism in mediaeval thinking. As well as paying the appropriate attention to mediaeval thinkers and theologians, there are innumerable references to de Bruyne. Finally, 1970 saw the appearance of *History of aesthetics* by Wladislaw Tatarkiewicz¹⁶. This work, in three volumes, devotes one of them monographically to the aesthetics of the Middle Ages, and his debts to the *Études*, besides being clear, are fully acknowledged.

Thus, from the four pages of Croce to the 362 pages of Tatarkiewicz, through the 500 pages of Assunto, there is a clear difference, not only from the point of view of numbers of pages but also above all as regards the heuristic approach employed. This change was undoubtedly due to the huge, devoted work of Edgar de Bruyne, who with his *Études* inaugurated a new methodological approach as regards philosophical research into medieval aesthetics.

Philosophia perennis: The Work of Edgar de Bruyne

The work of our author is of extraordinary amplitude, both with respect to the number of ancient, medieval and modern authors addressed therein, and in terms of the rigour with which he analyses each of them. The catalogue of his publications extends over three decades, in which he demonstrated outstanding intellectual devotion and fecundity.

We can reconstruct the work of Professor de Bruyne by starting out from his first publication in 1927, entitled *Inleiding tot de Wijsbeerte*, a work that was to be re-printed on five occasions. A year later, his work *Saint Thomas d'Aquin* appeared, this author being one of the central axes of de Bruyne's intellectual training and for whom his admiration was constant throughout his term as *magister*. In 1929, his *Kunstphilosophie* tells us how the Belgian medievalist was to address the problems of philosophy of art as from the very beginnings of his research career. The work was translated into French as *Esquisse*

14. (Milano, C. Marzorati, 1954). Of great interest, too, in this respect is his work *Storia della letteratura italiana dal Medioevo alla fine del Settecento* (Napoli: G. B. Vico, 1974).

15. (Milano: Il Saggiatore, 1961).

16. 3 vols (The Hague: Mouton, 1970-1974).

d'une philosophie de l'art in 1930. The main aim of this work was to apply Thomist philosophy in the field of aesthetics, which up until the beginnings of the twentieth century had been almost an unexplored territory. Fruit of his efforts, as mentioned previously, was the publication between 1932 and 1936 of one of his most relevant works: *Ethica*. In these three vast tomes, the author compiles the main lectures he had given concerning the fundamentals of moral order. From that moment onwards, the research of Edgar de Bruyne was to focus on the problems of culture; in particular, the history of aesthetics. Excellent examples of his impeccable efforts are *De mensch en de schoonheid*, *Beschaving en cultuur*, both from 1936; *Wat is cultuur?* (1937); his magnificent *Philosophie van de kunst: phaenomenologie van het kunstwerk* (1940); and his analysis of the aesthetic experience *Het aesthetisch beleven* (1942). In this same field of aesthetics, but from a historical perspective, of great interest with respect to his other creations are his three volumes of *Études d'esthétique médiévale*, which appeared in 1946. One year later, he decided to publish something in the way of a summary of the *Études* under the title *L'esthétique du Moyen Âge*. Between 1951 and 1955 his great history of European aesthetics *Geschiedenis van de aesthetica* appeared in five volumes: the first, in 1951, was devoted to the Renaissance; the second (1952) to Greek antiquity; the third (1953) to Roman antiquity; in the fourth (1954) he addresses Christian antiquity and, finally, in 1955 the fifth volume tackled Middle Ages aesthetics. He handed in the last pages of his final work *Grondproblemen van de Wijsgerige Logica* a few days before his death.

After this brief overview of the huge span of his intellectual acumen, it now behoves us to select, from among his many contributions, the one that seems to be the most relevant, although by no means disqualifying the others. In our opinion this would be his dedication to investigations in mediaeval aesthetics. In the prologue to *History of aesthetics*, dating from 1st September 1951, after acknowledging the labours of other scholars (such as Eduard Müller)¹⁷ and their careful historical approach, Julius Walter¹⁸ -whose philological accuracy in studying the psychic and logical bases of the aesthetic judgement of what is beautiful he praised-, Frank P. Chambers¹⁹ -who shows the development of the taste for «art valuations»- or Lionello Venturi²⁰, for

17. Cf. *Geschichte der Theorie der Kunst bei den Alten*, 2 vols (Breslau: J. Max und compagnie, 1834-37).

18. Cf. *Die Geschichte der Ästhetik im Altertum, ihrer begrifflichen Entwicklung nach dargestellt* (Leipzig: Reisland, 1893).

19. Cf. *Cycles of taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928).

20. Cf. *Storia Della critica d'arte* (Torino: Einaudi, 1936).

his work on art criticism), de Bruyne expounds his own objective; that is, what he considered as his own most important contribution.

We therefore dedicate our work to the explanation of texts written about art and beauty in past centuries, which for us have been a faithful testimony to the reactions and opinions of preceding generations [...]. Additionally, we do not limit ourselves to the writings of classic philosophers; indeed quite the opposite. We believe that in order to be able to determine the reactions and even the definitions of the Greeks in their true historical perspective the works of a Pliny, a Vitruvius or a Philostratos are as important as the critical considerations of Plato, the positive observations of Aristotle, or the mystic meditations of Plotinus. We also acknowledge that it will be easier to understand the Greek philosophers by commenting on them from within their own cultural context. In the personal and direct study of sources, we do not subjectively separate, as others have done, what is important from what is not; instead, we shall pursue the maximum objectivity possible in a purely historical study of the philosophical schools²¹.

From these words we may deduce that our medievalist was interested in highlighting several proposals that he considered essential, and in which his imprint can be seen. First, the *sources*: these are the firing pin of all rigorous investigation; a direct contact with the texts not only of better known authors but also of those who have sometimes been considered second-line thinkers. Second, these sources must be presented within their own, specific *historical context*: only thus can we evaluate their importance, their relevance and their ability to influence others with a suitable criterion. Third, as a result of the former two elements, there must be *objectivity*. The aim of our author is not to give a subjective historical exposition; that is, his aspiration is not to offer a subjective view of things or that the readers should consider that what they are reading is original. Quite the opposite, the final goal is objectivity, which in a field hitherto so little studied, is tantamount to saying that what is intended is to present, in its authentic magnitude and true dimensions, the most important documents that philosophers, theologians and artists have produced concerning beauty and art. This ambitious project did not arise, as we have stated, *ex nihilo*; it had some antecedents, such as those mentioned in the first part of this work or the studies that De Bruyne himself refers to. Even then, his approach is clearly perceived when locating, ordering, and analysing the materials, which he always did with rigour and honesty. Furthermore, his

21. Edgar de Bruyne, *Historia de la Estética. I Antigüedad griega y romana* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1953), p. IX.

work is fruit of persistent effort over a long time: "for twenty years we have read and re-read with pleasure and with a sensation of spiritual enrichment the texts of Antiquity and of the Middle Ages, and we hope to have assimilated them"²². However, his work was not only that of a specialist technician, so to speak, but, above all, that of a human being immersed in his work, persevering and maintaining an open spirit, since otherwise he would not have said "the reader, above all one with a humanistic background, will judge whether we have made good in our efforts and whether indeed, as we hope, we have shed new light on many problems and solutions, let alone great syntheses that have been explored for the first time"²³.

Perhaps one of the most attractive works of our author is *L'esthétique du Moyen Âge*. This has always seemed to lie in the shadow of *Études d'esthétique médiévale*, and that is logical. However, in this work the reader will find, in a more concise and accessible way, the main conclusions reached in the three volumes of the *Études*. Nevertheless, we judge the work not to be a mere reiteration of the various different approaches but a completely new one; this time more systematic than historical, and one which in our opinion forms part of the actual methodological programme of Edgar de Bruyne. From his intellectual paradigm, it is in the careful articulation of what is historical and what is systematic where it is possible to glean the identity of the Middle Ages. In other words, *The Aesthetics of the Middle Ages* is not a book simply aimed at disseminating knowledge, a sort of summary of an earlier voluminous work written for specialists, but a new and deliberate look at six major issues: sources, constants, systems, the aesthetics of beauty, art, and finally, the fine arts. In this work, which appeared in 1947 between the *Études* and *Geschiedenis van de aesthetica*, less well known but extremely interesting issues are explored. Let us briefly take a look at these six pillars that uphold the theoretical space of medieval aesthetic thought.

Regarding *sources*, Prof. de Bruyne expounds lucidly in simple language on how

Mediaeval authors discovered their main aesthetic definitions in four different types of text: the Bible, philosophical works, technical manuals, and the literature of the Greek and Latin Patristics. In fact, both the philosophers and technicians of music, painting, rhetoric, metrics, and the Patristics themselves, reflect a specific civilisation that, in the planes of aesthetics and philosophy of art, in general, simply expressed popular and universally held opinions. This is why we should not expect the Middle Ages to provide new and original

22. Ibid., p. X.

23. Ibidem.

definitions: those living at the time did not aim to discover or defend these; it is just that they were satisfied with what they found in the ancient texts, since in their opinion these not only transmitted the thoughts of the Ancients but were true evidence of common sense, which is also good sense²⁴.

This approach to the sources is so precise that it has become the accepted focus for contemporary specialists. As stated by Umberto Eco, the Middle Ages deduced the bulk of aesthetic problems from classical antiquity, but gave those issues a new meaning, introducing them into the feelings of humankind, of the world and of the divinity that were typical of the Christian viewpoint. They deduced other categories from the biblical and patristic tradition, but sought to incorporate them in the philosophical frameworks proposed by a new systematic conscience. Accordingly, they developed their aesthetic speculations within a plane of indubitable originality [...]. It has been observed that, in the long run, on speaking about aesthetic problems and proposing canons for artistic production, classical antiquity had its eyes set on nature whereas, addressing the same issues, the Middle Ages had their focus on classical antiquity: a large part of mediaeval culture in its totality consists more of a commentary on cultural tradition than on a reflection about reality. This aspect does not deplete the critical attitude of medieval authors: next to the cult of concepts transmitted as repositories of truth and knowledge; next to a way of seeing nature as a reflection of transcendence, as an obstacle and delay, in the sensibility of the times there was a lively and fresh search for a reality that would be sensible in all its aspects, including that of its “enjoyability” in aesthetic terms²⁵.

The second element on which De Bruyne bases himself to demarcate the evolutionary development of medieval thinking is that of *constants*. “Medieval aesthetics undoubtedly obeys certain constants that can be found in all authors: these are symbolism and the use of allegory, the veneration of proportion and the brilliance of colours. William of Auvergne summarised the problem posed with respect to the latter two properties of what is beautiful before 1230, saying that ‘visible beauty can be defined by the figure and the position of the parts within a whole, or by colour, or by the union of both, juxtaposing them or considering the relationship of harmony relating one

24. Edgar de Bruyne, *La estética de la Edad Media* (Madrid: Visor, 1994), p. 15.

25. Umberto Eco, *Arte e bellezza nell'estetica medievale* (Milano: Bompiani, 1987), [Spanish ed.: *Arte y belleza en la estética medieval*, (Barcelona: Lumen, 1997), p. 13].

with the other'²⁶. It would not be possible to better expound the data of a basic problem, transferred to the metaphysical plane than the great scholastic'²⁷. Along this second chapter the author analyses the data and syntheses offered by the main medieval authors in the different environments of artistic creation, exploring the conceptions of the aesthetics of music, the various approaches to the aesthetics of light, and the different theories concerning metaphysics, symbolism, and allegory.

Musical aesthetics serves as a framework within which to utilise the aesthetics of proportions and the approaches of Pythagorean forerunners and, above all, the aesthetics of the theories of Boethius. Our author masterfully explores the concepts of consonance, order, concord, harmony and beauty. The music of the spheres, the splendour of the stars and the harmony of the cosmos open the way to a vision of humankind as a microcosm in which the harmonies of the Universe are reflected. As well as material harmonies, De Bruyne also speaks of the spiritual harmony of humankind: body and soul, in the mediæval conception, are constitutive elements of a being in which, from an aesthetic and metaphysical perspective, the unity between the "outer" human being and the "inner" one is revealed.

After proportions –which are considered to be compound elements- the *aesthetics of light*, first and foremost, reveals to us the simplicity of light. In the medieval tradition, light was an unquestionable source of beauty. Beauty was light, colour, and heat, from both a transcendental and material points of view. Precious metals, marbles, gems, all material expressions of quantity, of *materia*, were also analysed as manifestations of *form*, of beautiful form, as was so well defined by authors such as Albertus Magnus or Ulricus of Strasbourg, or Robert Grosseteste.

Metaphysical aesthetics, according to De Bruyne, starts out from the issue of the "transcendental" nature of beauty. Concepts such as identity and participation are not only accorded us through the mouths of medieval authors but our medievalist also presents the connective itineraries between Johannes Scotus Eriugena, Saint Bonaventure, Grosseteste and (of course) Saint Thomas Aquinas, in which we observe a transformation of quantitative relationships to metaphysical proportions.

26. *Visibilis pulchritudo dicitur... cum in se aut figura et possitio sit aut color, aut ambo illorum, aut alterum* [is called visible beauty..., since there is a figure and a position, or colour, or both, or one in comparison with the other] *Et.* III, 86.

27. Edgar de Bruyne, *La estética de la Edad Media*, p. 69.

The second part of the work closes with *symbolic and allegorical aesthetics*. What is interesting is that there are no breaks between the different types of aesthetics, or at least there are no insurmountable chasms, since metaphysical aesthetics irremediably leads us to symbolism: a symbolism and use of allegory that are at the same time theological and philosophical. God is absolute Light. God is Form, and can therefore only be "*formosus*"; that is: beautiful. All beauty is a theophany, because beauty is perfection and unity. From here to the allegorical theories put forth by Richard of St. Victor is merely a step: the world, the work of God, is not only a natural event but also a supernatural mystery, in which the visible is always conjoined with the invisible.

In the third part of the work, on addressing the systems of mediaeval aesthetics the reflections of our author are based on the peculiar way verbal definitions were tackled in the Middle Ages. The etymological method used in those times considered that in order to reveal what is essential in art and beauty "the authors often start by getting an idea of the object to be defined; they then analyse the term and, if necessary, deform it until it responds to their needs just as they want it to. Accordingly, it is by no means an objective decomposition or a scientifically based linguistic investigation"²⁸. At this point, Bruyne shows his critical spirit in full rigour and examines the definitions of Isidorus, Honorius of Autum and Thomas of Citeaux. However, he is certainly aware that behind that 'artistic use' of the etymological method are, in all their richness, concepts such as *pulcher*, *venustas*, *decorum*..., all with an extraordinary reach in the characterisation of medieval aesthetics.

Medieval aesthetics was plural and most of its systems encompassed musical, symbolic, allegorical and light-related elements. *Immediate aesthetics*, according to De Bruyne, takes us to the world of contemplation as a first-order aesthetic category. It was the Victorines, above all Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, who developed this contemplative path in which the aesthetic process required an intellectual, free, penetrating, serene, and profoundly symmetric intuition. There is a privileged 'object' of contemplation: God, and with Him, all His works, be they sensible or spiritual. Aesthetic terms such as *congruum*, *aptum* or *decorum* lead us through the incommensurability of the Universe and through the beauty of its forms, which will be manifest in *venustas*, *gratia*, *elegantia*, *suavitas*, *splendor* or *claritas*. All this conceptual apparatus is decisive for the philosophical coherence of aesthetics. Together with this conceptual focus starting out from natural reality, other systems, such as *moral aesthetics* will show us the importance of introspection. William of Auvergne even

28. Ibid., p. 107.

stated that in order to know whether a form is beautiful or ugly, all we have to do is consult our inner feelings: that is, if we wish to define what is beautiful we must use our inner senses. From this perspective, both visible beauty and purely intelligible beauty are connected with the intimate experiences of human beings and will be linked to pleasure. What is deemed beautiful will be born between the idea and our souls, and will delimit an itinerary along what proves to be appropriate. In Bruyne's opinion, William's criterion projects aesthetics onto the moral and the latter onto the former: the perception of what is beautiful, pleasure and moral duty will provide a pathway of great philosophical efficiency.

Another of the peculiar systems of medieval aesthetics is the *sapient* (in the sense of *wisdom*) system. The starting point will be found in the *The Book Wisdom* in which the Augustan reflections on number, measurements and weight are inspired. In parallel with the sapient triad, beauty is defined from mode, form and order. And this is how we see it, along the thirteenth century, in authors such as William of Auvergne, Alexander Halensis, Saint Bonaventure, Ulricus of Strasbourg, Thomas of Cork and Saint Thomas Aquinas. This model can also be considered a theological transposition of musical aesthetics. Very close to sapient aesthetics we encounter *mystic aesthetics*, with Thomas of Vercell at the head: contemplation of divine beauty is reflected in the mirror of the world. Thomas chooses the image of *home*, because in it, as in God, it is possible to see light and warmth, warmth that vivifies and can only be Good. Also, the soul is the home of God in humankind. De Bruyne calls our attention to this, about how in music theory Beauty is the object itself of our *affectus*; that is, how the supreme act of the intellect consists of the contemplation of beauty. Concepts such as *unity*, *luminosity*, *ineffability*, or *love* here have a special reach: nothing is more beautiful than a being illuminated by love and that experience can only end in ecstasy, in supreme union.

The introspection of the *interior man*, which was the aim of the proposals of philosophers and theologians, demanded a precise analysis of *the feeling of beauty*, the fourth pillar of de Bruyne's medieval aesthetics. It might seem surprising that in the thirteenth century there was already a well defined differentiation between aesthetic judgement and spontaneous pleasure, but that distinction existed: it was no longer sufficient to 'take delight in beauty'; instead, it became necessary to ask 'why' things are pleasurable and beautiful. After sensible delight arises thoughtful and motivated judgement. Further, that ephemeral pleasure experienced will take us to the specific characterisation of aesthetic pleasure. Johannes Scotus Eriugena and Saint Thomas offer

us an approach that the formulation of ‘modern’ solutions to the problem. Thanks to the recovery of certain medieval texts by Edgar de Bruyne, we can follow, with full rigour and historical precision, a genealogy suitable to this issue. His work teaches us that in aesthetics not all was an elaboration of Modernity, even in certain specific issues of romanticism, such as melancholy, ugliness, the ephemeral, or the dynamic characterisation of beauty.

Reflection about *art* and the *fine arts* closes the space of aesthetics in the Middle Ages. Art as knowledge, as production, the importance of norms in creative processes or their technical characterisation, together with the relevance of ‘mimesis’, will reveal to us the polysemy itself of art in medieval reflections. Under all these aspects, the relationships of art and the nature and capacities of particular arts will be re-defined. Undoubtedly, our author will lead us to the conclusion that the Middle Ages Christianized the philosophy of art, since it “took from antiquity a series of considerations about art, translating them to a completely new framework. They elevated art to heights hitherto unsuspected, attributing to God what Plato had said of the Demiurge. Human art is divinized and, thanks to this, humanists and science defend it against attacks by its detractors”²⁹. As from that moment, art will never be in itself just production but will be able to present a new universe to human beings, a new world recreated by the hand of humans, with their eyes on transcendence. Moreover, along the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, medieval humanism revolved not around the assimilated classic Greek-Roman approaches but around a new way of seeing reality re-presented, re-uncovered, re-vealed by religion.

In any case, we should not forget that, in the words of Edgar de Bruyne himself, “Christianity is not an aesthetic cult to beauty but the adoration of God”³⁰. This means that medieval aesthetics was not only the reconstruction of a civilization at a given time and in a given historical space but a quest that aspired to be a complete *philosophia perennis*.

Chronology

1898. De Bruyne is born in Ypres (Belgium).

He studies at the Higher Institute of Philosophy in Leuven.

1924. He becomes Professor of the Saint Luis Institute in Brussels.

29. Ibid., p.188.

30. Edgar de Bruyne, *Historia de la Estética. II La antigüedad cristiana. La Edad Media* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1953), p. 3.

1925. He is named Lecturer at the University of Ghent.
1927. He is one of the founders of the collection *Philosophische Bibliotheek*.
1933. He becomes tenured lecturer at the University of Ghent, a chair he holds until 1958.
1937. He collaborates in the reorganization of the Belgium Catholic Party (CVP)
1939. He is elected member of the Senate. As an academic of the "Classe des letters", he joins the *Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie van België*.
1945. He occupies the positions of Minister of Colonies, President of the Administrative Council of the University Institute of Foreign Territories, and Founding President of the Institute for Scientific research in Central Africa.
1958. Owing to a severe illness he retires from political activity but continues to work at his intellectual tasks up to his last moments.
1959. He dies on 6 May in Brussels.

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- La notion de Dieu; La notion de bien; Kunst en schoonheid; Vlaanderen en België: voordracht*; Descr.: 11, 6, 13, 5 p.; 4°; 3 autographs en 1 typescript (Vlaanderen en België); Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3667/-2. [s.d.].
- Philosophie van de existentie*; Descr.: 1 v.; 4°; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3665. [s.d.].
- Geschiedenis van de aesthetica. De Renaissance*; Descr.: 188 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3663. [s.d.].
- Kunst en schoonheid*; Descr.: 13 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3667/1. [s.d.].
- Vlaanderen en België: voordracht*; Descr.: 5 p.; 4°; typescript; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3667/2. [s.d.].
- Esquisse d'une philosophie de l'art*; Descr.: 340 p.; 4°; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3651. [1929].
- Ethica. III: de diepere zin van de zedelijkheid*; Descr.: 321 bl.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3655. [1930].
- Etudes d'esthétique médiévale. III: Le XIIIe siècle*; Descr.: 198 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3659. [1930].
- Servaes*; Descr.: 50 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3652. [19??].
- Inleiding tot de wijsbegeerte*; Descr.: ? p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3648. [1940].
- Saint Thomas d'Aquin*; Descr.: ? p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3649. [1940].
- Philosophie van de kunst*; Descr.: 237 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3650. [1940].
- Ethica. I: De structuur van het zedelijk phenomeen*; Descr.: 290 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3653. [1940].
- Ethica. II: De ontwikkeling van het zedelijk bewustzijn*; Descr.: 317 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3654. [1940].
- Études d'esthétique médiévale. II: L'époque romane*; Descr.: 235 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3658. [1940].
- Het aesthetisch beleven*; Descr.: 309 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3656. [1941].
- Études d'esthétique médiévale I: De Boèce à Jean Scot Erigène*; Descr.: 223 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3657. [1944].
- Geschiedenis van de aesthetica. De Romeinse oudheid*; Descr.: 225 bl.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3661. [1945].

- Geschiedenis van de aesthetica. De middeleeuwen*; Descr.: 298 bl.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3662. [1945].
- Geschiedenis van de aesthetica. De Renaissance*; Descr.: 188 p.; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3663. [1945].
- Grondproblemen van de wijsgerige logica*; Descr.: 1 doos ; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3664. [1945].
- Notes d'esthétique*; Descr.: 2 mappen ; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3666. [1945].
- Geschiedenis van de aesthetica. De Griekse oudheid*; Descr.: 213 p. ; 4°; autograph; Shelf.: BHSL.HS.3660. [1951].

3. Works on Edgar de Bruyne

- J. de Ghellinck, 'L'esthétique chez les écrivains médiévaux', *Nouv. Rev. théol.*, 70 (1948), 858-859.
- J. E. C. Grooten, 'Edgar de Bruyne', *Katolieke Encyclopaedie* (Antwerpen: 't Groeit, 1951), 343.
- Albert Westerlinck, 'Een aesthetica van de renaissance', *D. Warande Belf.*, 3 (1952), 167-173.
- L. de Raeymaeker, 'In memoriam Edgar de Bruyne', *Rev. philos. Louvain*, 57 (1959), 286-289.
- Jean Lameere, 'In memoriam Edgar de Bruyne', *Rev. int. Philos.*, 48 (1959), 171.
- Arm. J. Janssens, 'In memoriam prof. dr. Edgar de Bruyne 1898-1959', *Tijdschr. Philos.*, 21 (1959), 356-364.
- Armando Suárez O.P., 'Edgar de Bruyne (1898-1959)', *Est. filos.*, 10 (1961), 265-270.
- Francis J. Kovach, 'Edgar de Bruyne, *The Aesthetics of the Middle Ages*', *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, 8:4 (1970), 470-475.
- Olivier Boulnois, 'La beauté d'avant l'art. D'Umberto Eco à saint Thomas d'Aquin, et retour', Philippe Capelle, Geneviève Hébert, Marie-Dominique Popelard, *Le souci du passage : mélanges offerts à Jean Greisch* (Paris: Cerf, 2004), 414-442.
- Umberto Eco, 'L'esthétique médiévale d'Edgar de Bruyne', *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 71 (2004), 219-232.
- R. Heynicks, 'Le chantier de la tradition. Le réflexions d'Edgar De Bruyne sur la culture moderne pendant les entre-deux-guerres. Possibilités et limites du néothomisme', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 100 (2005), 519-545.

Johan Huizinga (1872-1945)

Alfons Puigarnau*

"Werde leider Huizinga lesen müssen"

"I will have to read Huizinga"

Aby Warburg, 1929

*"Every passion borders on chaos,
and the collector's on that of memories"*

Walter Benjamin, 1961

*"I venture to suggest this solution to the ancient problem:
The Library is unlimited and cyclical"*

Jorge Luis Borges, 1941

In the era in which Jorge Luis Borges was analysing the universe as if it was a library, we might suspect that those libraries founded in the past century have been different intellectual visions and options constantly being projected upon our convulsed universe. If we accept this, and we go in deep with the possibility that each library may well represent a different vision of the universe, or a different cultural identity, we also can accept for each one of them a different concept of philosophy, of history and maybe also a different approach to historical facts.

Of course we must deal with a metaphoric mentality when we say so, but this piece of hypothesis has to work and has to be strictly applied to humanities libraries in Western contemporary academic culture. In fact we do have a lot of university libraries mostly around Europe, the United States and Canada, and even better examples in other continents and regions. These are temples of wisdom, memories of the past, realms of silence, symbols of knowledge and of our freedom. Libraries constitute symbols of ourselves and of our own cultures and national *imaginaria*.

* Special acknowledgement to Claudia Wedepohl for her orientations and suggestions in the *Warburg Institute Archives*, to Jonathan Rolls for his help as Assistant Librarian at the *Warburg Institute Library*, to Andrea Meyer Ludowsky for her help in translating some German texts of Aby Warburg and Gertrud Bing, to Rembrandt Huijs (*The Warburg Institute Photographic Collection*) for his help in translation of Dutch texts, to Grace Concepción for correcting my original text in English, and to Jaume Aurell (Associate Professor in History, *University of Navarra*) for his invitation to contribute.

However, when Borges postulates the “Babel Library” as the continent for all the existing and even all the books yet to exist, he does not speak of a “real” library, of course. On the other hand we have selected, classified and protected books for centuries in real places including monumental architectures in a very opposite way that bankers keep money in boxes, because of the real openness due to the nature of any of these libraries in the world.

The reason of why I started talking about libraries in a volume of theories and philosophies of History is less obvious than it seems. But it does make sense to the extent that speaking of historiography is basically dealing with books. To produce History -we must state with an apparent ingenuity- is to write books departing from primary historical sources like manuscripts, archeological evidences, art, anthropology and many other auxiliary materials subject to being historicized. In this sense, the historian writes stories that concern History, and he also writes history concerning different stories. And all of this is in this way because in doing history we propose methods, principles and conclusions. History is subjectivity and subject is part of History.

At this stage we must be in a position to wonder about a few questions regarding the relationship between *History* as a scholarly, serious discipline and *Library* as a determinate version of historical facts as far as it selects a number of books in order to argue something from the present looking back into the old ages. In this sense, might a library be a historiographical proposal in itself? Is it possible to fit “versions” of History with specific libraries? Are libraries set up from preconceived historiographical prejudices? Is it possible to select, store, preserve and deliver books with “neutral” historiographical criteria?

Or, in other words, what does “Johan Huizinga at The Warburg Institute Library” mean? How is the work of this prominent historian represented in the stacks of this prominent Institution? To what extent the presence of Huizinga’s books (PL 1) about him at the Warburg Institute is not a mere coincidence of general historiographic criteria applied to the acquisition of the Dutch’s works on cultural history? Is there a real affinity between the foundational cosmovision of Aby Warburg (PL 2) about History and the meaning of the medieval History written by Johan Huizinga? How could we describe the presence of Huizinga in the shelves of the Warburg Institute Library and what does it mean for us?

Patterns of Libraries and Patterns of Culture

Whether a library represents a different view of the historical fact from others is something that matters to our research. A library is always a meth-

odological option; a library symbolizes a peculiar cosmovision; a library intrinsically belongs to a historiographical decision. To say "Johan Huizinga at the Warburg" is like to display the junction of Aby Warburg's mind (with all its generational and vital intellectual positioning) and Huizinga's conclusive points (together with his historical circumstances and dramatical view of contemporaneity projected on the Middle Ages, Humanism and later historical periods until his own age).

We basically are supposed to establish careful distinctions between the Warburg Institute pattern of library from others like the ones of the Ancient World (not only Ancient Egypt, but also Mesopotamia and Alexandria), the Medieval Libraries (as a synonym of monastic library), the libraries during the age of Humanism (essentially later than Gutenberg), the period of Enlightenment (as far as libraries of cosmic scale like the Boullée's projects), and the actual libraries as some sort of Information landscapes (Datascapes, we must say).

All of these must be very different in each case and we must ascertain the relative position of the Warburg Institute Library, before determining the historiographical position of Huizinga in relation to the Warburgian tradition, if such relation really exists. By making some preliminary distinctions, we will manage to focus on the case of the Warburg Library; and only this exercise could we establish a paradigm of the philosophy of history behind the historiographical world of Johan Huizinga.

We use the term "library" here to refer to a large collection of written texts, going far back in time, almost to the invention of writing itself. If writing can be considered a repository, then a library is a repository of the second degree: a repository of repositories. But library was conceived as *the* repository of the written word since the remotest antiquity. However, libraries (in the accepted sense of the term) developed only gradually until the existence of the ones we know today. This is due to some further explanations. There are probably three functions of storing the written word: 1) repository, 2) archive, and 3) representation.¹

The function of a "repository" is to supply the knowledge required to perform certain activities; that of an "archive" is to stock for possible use in the future; whereas "representation" implies the compilation of written words

1. Cf. Assmann, J., 'Libraries in the Ancient World- With Special Reference to Ancient Egypt', in S. Bieri and W. Fuchs, *Bibliotheken Bauen. Tradition und Vision* (Building for Books. Traditions and Visions) (Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhäuser-Verlag für Architektur/Publishers for Architecture, Swiss National Library, 2001), pp. 50-53.

in order to preserve and present a particular cultural identity. These functions differ in their relationship to time: 'stores' look to the future, 'archives' concerns the past and 'representation' relates to the present.

In contrast to these considerations about libraries in the Ancient world, the medieval library allows us to think further on. Monastic history is synonymous with library history². No monastery could function entirely without books. *Claustrum sine armario quasi castrum sine armamentario*, says Godefroy, a canon of Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge (Lisieux)³. However, there is not sufficient evidence that the book was sanctity and monastic ideals. It is not difficult to state that books until the late Middle Ages were not stored in a special building, or at least in "libraries".

There was the function of 'representation', of course; but not an awareness that went beyond the strict functionality of keeping books in *armaria* or in *bibliothecae*, that is in shelves, where books are taken and returned⁴. In this sense, the labyrinthic building for books admirably described by Umberto Eco in his *Name of the Rose* might either be real or pretty much influenced by the Borgian metaphor of "The Library of Babel" as his character George of Burgos (Jorge Louis Burgos) suggests.

The Humanist library pattern is the consequence of a mentality that was different from the Ancient or Monastic, because it very much concerns intellectual nourishment. But to obtain 'food for thought', order and system are necessary. A well ordered and systematized library produces fascinating pleasure of dominion and control of reality. In this sense, books are power; they impress because of their capacity to connect corporeally and spatially the universal with the particular.

Books in a humanist library like the 'Philip the Second' in El Escorial form a structured *ordere* in one way or another, and constitutes from its beginnings the first architectural incarnation of a library. In this way the concept of "or-

2. R. Kottje, 'Klosterbibliotheken und monastische Kultur in der zweiten Hälfte des 11 Jahrhunderts', in *Il monachismo e la riforma ecclesiastica (1049-1112)*, Atti della quarta settimana internazionale di studio Mendola 23-29 agosto 1968, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi medioevali 6 (Milano: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1971), pp. 351-370.

3. R. Kottje, 'Clasutra sine armario? Zum Unterschied von Kloster und Stift im Mittelalter', in *Consuetudines monasticae. Festgabe für Kassius Halliger aus Anlass seines 70. Geburtstages*, ed. by J. F. Angerer and J. Lenzenweger, *Studia anselmiana* 85 (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1982), p. 125-144.

4. J. F. Hamburger, 'Women and the Written Word in Medieval Switzerland', in S. Bieri and W. Fuchs, *Bibliotheken Bauen. Tradition und Vision* (Building for Books. Traditions and Visions) (Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhäuser-Verlag für Architektur/Publishers for Architecture, Swiss National Library, 2001), p. 122.

der" is crucial. This somewhat complicated conception also provides the basis for that famous (yet rarely understood) "system of knowledge" proposed by Giulio Camillo in the best tradition of mnemonics: *così non dobbiamo applicar un'artificio fatto universale ad alcuna particolar materia, se prima non veggiamo, se con le circostanze di quello esso confar si possa*⁵.

But the rare fascination of the library during the era of European Humanism as a real nutrition for the spirit⁶ is little in comparison with the sort of Utopian library proposed by the visionary conceptions of reality as we see in Boullée's designs for the Public Library Building rediscovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale by Helen Rosenau who deciphered it and published it in London in 1953⁷. Etienne-Louis Boullée belongs to the well-known group of revolutionary architects (together with Ledoux and Lequeu) in France during the years of the French Revolution. He designed an immense building inspired in the proportions of the *School of Athens* of Raphael and also –in a different sense– in the ideas of Isaac Newton. Boullée conceived his library passing from the typical baroque *sacred* emotionalism to a new *cosmic* emotionalism. In other words, the Encyclopedical conception of library as a secularised divine order of knowledge becomes, in Boullée, a megalomaniac idea.⁸

All of these are patterns of libraries: the Ancient, the Monastic, the Humanistic and the Utopian. We now know what is a library and to what extent it reflects a cultural pattern that only sometimes crystalises in architecture as a symbol of ideological tendency, historical concept or even potential manipulation of reality during the ages.

5. G. Camillo, *Due Trattati dell'eccellentissimo, l'uno delle materie, che possono venir sotto lo stile dell'eloquente: l'altro della imitatione*, Venezia, 1544, fol. 11v°. As quoted in: W. Oechslin, 'The Library and its Books- Human Nourishment', in S. Bieri and W. Fuchs, *Bibliotheken Bauen. Tradition und Vision* (Building for Books. Traditions and Visions) (Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhäuser-Verlag für Architektur/Publishers for Architecture, Swiss National Library, 2001), p. 197n.

6. As stated by Claude du Molinet in *Le Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de, Sainte-Geneviève: Divisé en 2 parties; Contenant les Antiquitez de la Religion des Chrétiens, des Egyptiens, et des Romains...*, Paris, Chez Antoine Dezallier, rue Saint Jacques, à la Couronne, 1692, Préface.

7. *Boullée's Treatise on Architecture: A Complete Presentation of the 'Architecture, essai sur l'art'*, ed. by H. Rosenau, *Boullée Papers (MS. 9153) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris*, London, Tiranti, 1953.

8. A. M. Vogt, 'Boullée Seeks "Cosmic Scale" for his Library', in S. Bieri and W. Fuchs, *Bibliotheken Bauen. Tradition und Vision* (Building for Books. Traditions and Visions) (Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhäuser-Verlag für Architektur/Publishers for Architecture, Swiss National Library, 2001), p. 227 and ff.

The Warburg Institute Library and Aby Warburg's Vision of History

After having traced a kind of panoramic vision on the relationship between patterns of libraries and cultural tendencies, we can grasp to what extent the Warburg Institute Library must correspond to any of the described models or, by the contrary, is creating a new standard of what a library should be and whether it must be 'repository', 'archive' or 'representation' of history.

We have to ascertain the extent of this library in the mind of its founder Aby Warburg (1889-1929). Was it a *compilation* of material for the benefit of knowledge, an *archive* of things for future reference, or an *ordered whole* which is able to foreground a discourse concerning national identities, cultural personalities and well determined traditions? Only when we become sure of the response to the preceding question could we understand the presence Johan Huizinga's works in the Warburg Institute and his historiographical conceptions about the Middle Ages and his own times.

The Warburg Institute Library is a Humanities Library. This is wisely analysed by Dorothee Bauerle-Willert in the largely quoted in this text *Building for Books*⁹. And this is as to accept the phrase of Walter Benjamin: "Every passion borders in chaos, and the collectors' on that of memories"¹⁰, which means for us that every object of a collection takes part in the chaos of memories like a piece of a magical encyclopedia, as might well say Aby Warburg.

We will later say the reasons why Huizinga as a medievalist concerns the Warburg Institute and how Aby Warburg related the Dutch scholar's historiographical approach to historical fact. But for the present, we need to indicate the distinct characteristic of the Warburgian concept of library as "chaos of memories", since it is related to the core of our text.

In the academic course of 1927-1928, Aby Warburg delivered a seminar to several students in Hamburg. It was the Seminar *Kulturwissenschaftliche Methode* where someone typescripted the following words spoken by the master: "European humanity's attempts to educate itself"¹¹, the attempts to throw

9. D. Bauerle-Willert, 'On the Warburg Humanities Library', in S. Bieri and W. Fuchs, *Bibliotheken Bauen. Tradition und Vision* (Building for Books. Traditions and Visions) (Basel, Boston, Berlin: Birkhäuser-Verlag für Architektur/Publishers for Architecture, Swiss National Library, 2001), p. 253-267.

10. W. Benjamin, 'Ich packe meine Bibliothek aus' in *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol IV, 1, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp, 1972, p. 388.

11. A. Warburg, 'Selbsterziehungsversuche des europäischen Menschengeschlechts', in *Typescript for the seminar Kulturwissenschaftliche Methode 1927/28*.

light on the chaos in which humanity finds itself and to find orientation, is stored and remembered. This is the very inspiration of the Library already founded by Aby Warburg and which principles Johan Huizinga was partly and similarly advocated.

By the beginning of the Warburg's foundation, Johan Huizinga was about to publish his first edition in German of the *Waning of the Middle Ages*. By that time Aby Warburg had had the opportunity to read Huizinga's earlier articles, written solely by Huizinga or together with others, like the ones published in the *Journal Museum*¹².

On the 12th of March 1928 Gertrud Bing (1892-1964)¹³ writes on the Warburg Library's *Tagebuch* (Diary)¹⁴ in the following terms: "Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters* (engl. trans. *The Waning of the Middle Ages*)¹⁵, which I

12. For example, C. C. Uhlenbeck, "Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des altindischen Sprache, Zweiter Band" (Amsterdam, 1899), in *Museum* 7 (1899/1900), vol. 353-354; Hillebrands, A., "Alt-Indien. Kulturgeschichtliche Skizzen" (Breslau, 1899), in: *Museum*, 8 (1900-1901), vol. 38-40.

13. Gertrud Bing was born in Hamburg on June 7, 1892. At the age of 30 she joined the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* as a librarian and found her vocation in this rich and growing collection of books. In 1927 she became assistant to Aby Warburg and accompanied him in his Italian journeys to Florence and Rome, where she acquired understanding of Italian culture. After Warburg's death in 1929, she became his literary executor and during the dark years of Nazism she dealt with the expatriation of the library to London. She wrote a biographical essay on Fritz Saxl (Edited by D. J. Gordon in 1957). Between 1955 and 1959 she was Director of the Warburg Institute and Professor of the History of Classical Tradition. She died in 1964 after having served the 'cause' of Aby Warburg for 40 years (Cf. VV. AA. *Gertrud Bing (1892-1964)*, London, The Warburg Institute, 1965).

14. The Warburg's *Tagebuch* is some sort of official (but private) diary where Aby Warburg, Gertrud Bing and Fritz Saxl daily stated different incidents concerning the life of the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* in Hamburg between 1926 and 1929. It was edited in 2001 in A. Warburg, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg mit Beiträgen von Gertrud Bing und Fritz Saxl*. Herausgegeben von Karen Michels und Charlotte Schoell-Glass, in the Series *Aby Warburg Gesammelte Schriften*, Herausgegeben von Horst Bredekamp, Michael Diers, Kurt W. Foster, Nicholas Mann, Salvatore Settis und Martin Warnke, Siebte Abteilung, Band VII, Berlin, academie Verlag GmbH, 2001.

15. There are in fact two different editions of the German translation of the *Waning of the Middle Ages* in the Catalogue of the Warburg and that are preserved in the shelves of the Warburg Institute Library. Possibly one of those was the copy stated in the Warburg's Diary. The first edition of 1924 has attached the personal *Ex Libris* of Aby Warburg, (J. Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen. Herbst des Mittelalters: Studien Über Lebens- und Geistesformen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich und in den Niederlanden*, München, Drei Masken Verlag, 1924, WIA 24/1136) and the second edition of 1928 (quoted in note 17) both with Pressmark HDC 105. WIA means 'Warburg Institute Archives' and is currently followed by the year of acquisition and the inventory number as stated in the Acquisitions book.

have as a home-reading, is for me very instructive, and also interesting to read”¹⁶.

We must understand the written words of Bing in the context of an institutional but private diary in which she (and Warburg and Saxl) states many different things: her domestic troubles, the appointment with someone or the impression caused by a recent letter addressed to her by another scholar. In this literary frame, her words about *The Waning of the Middle Ages* are not overtly negative, but they do not endorse the work either. At the same time, despite her statement that “*The Waning* is home-reading” for her, we now know that she decided to buy the second edition of *Herbst des Mittelalters* of the 1928¹⁷. This means that despite she was reluctant to consider it an academic reading, she felt attracted by Huizinga’s work. Furthermore, the first German edition copy¹⁸, was probably handled by Bing and referred by Warburg in his diary to be necessarily read¹⁹.

The initial attitude of Bing must be understood within a historical context. It must be taken into account that the initial reception of the 1919 edition in Dutch was not very auspicious. Huizinga was then in his forties and for the second edition he wanted to challenge his critics reinforcing the subtitle as defining the boundaries of the work’s scope and sources²⁰. In fact, on his home ground Huizinga was regarded with some suspicion as unscholarly, if not novelistic²¹.

In 1924 German and English translations of *The Waning* were published. But while the Dutch *Herfsttij* translated literally into German *Herbst* (au-

16. A. Warburg, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg mit Eiträgen von Gertrud Bing und Fritz Saxl*. Herausgegeben von Karen Michels und Charlotte Schoell-Glass, in the Series *Aby Warburg Gesammelte Schriften*, Herausgegeben von Horst Bredekamp, Michael Diers, Kurt W. Foster, Nicholas Mann, Salvatore Settis und Martin Warnke, Siebte Abteilung, Band VII, Berlin, academie Verlag GmbH, 2001, p. 222.

17. J. Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen. Herbst des Mittelalters: Studien Über Lebens- und Geistesformen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich und in den Niederlanden* (2nd ed.) (München: Drei Masken Verlag, 1928).

18. J. Huizinga, *Herbst des Mittelalters. Studien Über Lebens- Und Geistesformen des 14. Und 15. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich und in den Niederlanden*, München, Drei Masken Verlag, 1924, WIA 24/1136. HDC 105.

19. See footnote below.

20. M. Aston, “England and the Waning of the Middle Ages”, in *Medievalia et Humanistica. Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Culture*, New Series, 9, The Medieval and Renaissance Society, 1979, p. 1-23.

21. Cf. K. Köster, *Johan Huizinga, 1872-1945* Oberursel, 1947, where in p. 99-103 lists the editions and reviews of the book. Cf. Aston, 1979, p. 1n.

tumn), F. Hopman –in cooperation with Huizinga- chose the English word *Waning* (*decreasing, decaying, declining*). In 1940, five years before Huizinga's death, the Italian translation was already in its sixth edition, whereas the English and German were far more numerous published.

Gertrud Bing keeps going in the library *Diary* as follows: "A book that wants to give a *kulturbild* (picture or portrait of a culture) that attempts to deduce an inner face (*inneres gesicht*) from the ideals of his time". The German expressions *kulturbild* and *inneres gesicht* are indicative of the recognition that *The Waning's* German translation was reaping in the scholarly milieu of that time

The assistant of Warburg probably was able to realise that *The Waning* should have much to do with the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Methode*. She probably was beginning to understand that Huizinga's book could not be grasped if Dutch historian were not considered as a follower of the great Jacob Burckhardt (PL 3), the portraitier of the Renaissance²² that was pattern and counterpattern of Huizinga's *Herbst*.

And of course Warburg himself was a reader of the later Burckhardt²³, although at first glance not of the earlier in his consideration of the State as a Work of Art (1860)²⁴, the one of *Griechichte Kulturgeschichte* (1898-1902) or by far Burckhardt's *Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen* (1853). We definitely do not find any of these "risky" versions of the Renaissance or Antiquity history amongst the statements in the Book of Acquisitions of the *Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg* which would eventually include Huizinga's work.

But Warburg read avidly the notes of his valuable assistant that in the same page of March 1928 wrote: "his technique is very accomplished and he shows that he is well-read when he compiles the citations from the Chronicles, but his discoveries remain banal and can give the very best picture, but not deeper

22. J. Burckhardt, *Die Kulture des Renaissance in Italien*, 1860.

23. In 1905 he personally acquired *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* (Berlin und Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Spemann, 1905), which is at The Warburg Institute Library with Pressmark HAH 425 and with the personal Warburg's *Ex - Libris* attached inside. The acquisition mark is 05/487.

24. Although Warburg had his two early editions (Basel, 1918) of poems (*Ferien* –of 1849- and *E. Hämpfeli Lieder* –of 1853- both purchased in 1920 and with Pressmark HAH 425 at the WIL is "Wardurg Institute Library".

illuminating insights". After which Warburg adds: *Muß ihn doch lesen*, which means something like "I will then have to read it"²⁵.

Both Warburg and Bing (and also Fritz Saxl) probably already knew about the success of the German and English translations of *The Waning* beginning in 1924. Paradoxally, on one hand they were suspecting that a mature (but not old) Dutch scholar, pupil of Burckhardt, was opening new historiographical ways to which they were probably not completely opened. On the other, they were also aware of the tremendous editorial success of *The Waning of the Middle Ages* which made them difficult to publicly reject.

Warburg was clearly reluctant to that kind of approach to historical fact and was also lazy to read it. However, at the same time his sensitive conscience to books prodded him to read such kind of material. His instinct did not fail him, despite his own personal disapproval of that new historical approach to the declining of Middle Ages in the Low Countries and France.

We know from the registers of the Acquisitions Book of the Warburg Institute Archives that despite Warburg's refractory historiographical conceptions about the work of Huizinga, he decided to purchase, progressively in time, some of his books. In fact, in the *Tagbuch* page of the 10th February 1929 he states again in a laconic way: *Werde leider Huizinga lesen müssen*, "Unfortunately (*lerder*) I will have to read Huizinga"²⁶. It sounds like a re-primination of what he was supposed to have already done but never wanted to do. It was a contrast between what he was supposed to represent in the historiographical *panorama* and a nascent element on the rise, which he was not able to accept despite its general acceptance in the dynamic academic world in the period between the two world wars.

If Warburg had read or had been minimally interested in Burckhardt's *Civilisation of the Renaissance in Italy* (which he probably had not read), he might have tried to understand *The Waning of the Middle Ages* alongside the work of Burckhardt. In fact, in his Library classification criteria of the "the law of the good neighbour"²⁷ there were some pressmarks close to one other: under the HAH (corresponding to "Historiography Sources") and consecu-

25. A. Warburg, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg mit Einträgen von Gertrud Bing und Fritz Saxl*, p. 202.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 404.

27. "The book of which one knew was in most cases not the book which one needed. The unknown neighbour on the shelf contained the vital information, although from its title one might not have guessed this" (F. Saxl, 'The History of Warburg's Library (1886-1944)', in E. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography* (London: The Warburg Institute University of London, 1970), p. 327.

tively in numbers (so put in nearby shelves) we can find the *Philosophy of History* of Hegel (n. 375), the *Complete Works* of Leopold von Ranke (n. 410) and of Jules Michelet (n. 415), the Burckhardt's works (n. 425), the Huizinga's (n. 510), *The Philosophy of History* by R. Rocholl (n. 625), Kurt Breysig's works (n. 685) and Karl Lamprecht's, the *Problem of the Philosophy of History* by Georg Simmel (n. 710), the Friedrich Meineke works (n. 720) and the Oswald Spengler's (n. 800).

In 1921 Warburg had purchased Huizinga's *Waning* in Dutch (see frontispiece in PL 4)²⁸. It was bought in the same year of its publication, in cloth hardcover binding (*linen* says the register, see PL 5), and from the usual Dutch supplier of books Nijhoff²⁹. We are also sure that he also bought the Huizinga's *Tien Studiën* (see frontispiece in PL 6)³⁰ in 1927 from the same Dutch bookseller with 13,77 marks³¹, also in cloth (see the front cover in PL 7).

Warburg also personally³² decided to buy the *Erasmus* in English (see the frontispiece in PL 9) in London Great Russell Street from the Oriental booksellers called Probsthain³³ at £7, 06 in cloth, on the 10th of June 1924. This is the first edition in English for American readers for different reasons among which was the reproach by the United States of neutral countries like The Netherlands after the Great War. As a consequence of this, a Chair of Dutch History in the University of Columbia was created, and from there a new Series of Great Hollanders was set up for the first. This is why the editor of the Series, Edward W. Bok, wanted to open his collection with a book about Erasmus³⁴. The acquisition mark indicates 24/1008, which means that it was the item number 1008 bought within the year 1924 (see PL 8). It is quite plausible that Warburg personally wanted in this case to attach his own *Ex libris* (see PL 10-11) to the back front cover, where also the Oriental bookseller Probsthain had already attached his own bookshop label (see PL. 12). This is indicative of Warburg's reason for buying this book in London. He was progressively becoming aware of Huizinga's importance to the roots of European

28. J. Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1921).

29. WIA, Ic. 1. 3. 1918-1924, p. 164.

30. J. Huizinga, *Tien studiën* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1926).

31. WIA, Ic. 1. 7. 1927, p. 42.

32. We know Warburg personally consulted booksellers' catalogues and indicated the purchases that had to be made for the Library.

33. WIA, Ic. 1. 3. 1918-1924, p. 215.

34. J. Huizinga, *Erasmus* (Basel: B. Schwabe & Co, 1928).

medievalist historiography, despite his (Warburg's) reluctance to read his books.

All of this allows us to conclude that Warburg's plausible *problem of conscience* about Huizinga's books, which he was yet to read, was surely related to the English *Erasmus*³⁵ bought in 1924 and also the two versions of *The Waning* in German corresponding to 1924 and 1928. This must be in this way because we know that Warburg was unable to read Dutch, so it was highly unlikely that he read the first Dutch edition of *The Waning* purchased in 1921.

There is also another *Erasmus* in the Warburg that was bought on the 6th of April 1929³⁶ (see frontispiece in PL. 13). This is a beautiful German edition of the *Erasmus* extensively decorated with Hans Holbein's engravings, which included figures related to the frontispiece, or the initial capital letters at the beginning or at the end of chapters. The problem here is that when this book was purchased, Aby Warburg was actually in Italy, where he spent a long period of time between October 1928 and June 1929³⁷. Finally we have stated a minor acquisition entitled "*Een Schakel in de Ontwikkeling van den Term Middeleeuwen?*"³⁸

However, from the fact that Huizinga's books were being purchased for the Library, despite the absence of Aby Warburg in Italy, we might suggest that some "institutional will" of incorporating Huizinga to the *Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg* had already germinated. That probably might have happened between the very first years of the first edition of *The Waning* in Dutch in 1919 (in PL 14, see the envelopes containing handwriting notes by Huizinga)³⁹, the 1928 Gertrud Bing's derogatory statement in the Library Diary⁴⁰, and the growing awareness in the mind of Warburg

35. J. Huizinga, *Erasmus*, ed. by Edward W. Bok (New York, London: Scribner, 1924).

36. WIA, Ic. 1. 9. 1929, p. 34.

37. Cf. E. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography* (London: The Warburg Institute University of London, 1970), p. 279.

38. J. Huizinga, 'Een Schakel in de Ontwikkeling van den Term Middeleeuwen?', in *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde Deel 53, Serie A, n° 5*, Amsterdam, 1921, p. 135-145, WIL Pressmark NAC, 15, Acquisition Book n. 27/1608.

39. Envelopes corresponding to notes to *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, in: (inv.nr. 50 (1. L1-8)), in: A. Van Der Lem, *Inventaris van het archief van Johan Huizinga. Bibliografie 1897-1997*, Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codex Manuscripti XXIX, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 1998, p. Xii

40. A. Warburg, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg mit Einträgen von Gertrud Bing und Fritz Saxl*. p. 222.

about the convenience of reading the Dutch historian (his “*Werde leider Huizinga lesen müssen*” of 1929⁴¹).

Burckhardt, Warburg, Huizinga and History as an Evocation of Images

Until the end of his life, Aby Warburg was only concerned with the construction of a library that, as said above, was the construction of a cosmovision. The Warburg Institute was principally based on the study of survival⁴². For the founder of the *Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek* historiography was considered as an evocation of images (*verbeelden*).

Aby Warburg himself was disinclined to narrative history like *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, but in the back of his mind he shared a common ideal with Huizinga's, which was Jakob Burckhardt's concept of history as a visual task. To some extent, Warburg and Huizinga's historiographical proposals were partly under the magnetism of Hegelian approach to reality filtered by the Swiss great master of Cultural History. And together with that the so called -by Gombrich- 'five giants' derived from Hegel's determinism in Art History: aesthetic transcendentalism, historical collectivism, historical determinism, metaphysical optimism and relativism⁴³.

Following the theorist J. Mali, to do History as a visual task is to do mythistory, and this is a common feeling between Warburg and Huizinga: “Among the historians who were attentive to Burckhardt's legacy in German historiography were Aby Warburg and Ernst Kantorowicz, as well as, in his own critical and dialectical way, Walter Benjamin. (...) There were other historians, in Germany and elsewhere, who were even more affected by Burckhardt's new historiography. Most notably, the Johan Huizinga's book *The Autumn of the Middle Ages* (1919), with its brilliant notion and execution of historiography as an evocation of images (*verbeelden*), is a fine example of what mythistory could be^{44,45}. (On this, see examples of the capacity of martial costume and

41. Ibid., p. 404.

42. Barker, *The Book Collector*, Vol. 39, 2, 1990.

43. E. H. Gombrich, 'The Father of Art History. A Reading of the *Lectures on Aesthetics* of G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831)', in E. H. Gombrich, *Tributes. Interpreters of our Cultural Tradition* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited, 1984), p. 139-63.

44. Cf. K Weintraub, *Visions of Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 208-46.

45. J. Mali, *Mythistory. The Making of Modern Historiography* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), p. 32.

armoury visual representations of evoking the ideal of chivalry and the “seriousness of play” in PL 15-16)⁴⁶.

Alongside with that in 1929 Aby Warburg had received the leaflet of the editor/bookseller announcing the production of *The Complete works of Burckhardt*⁴⁷ (PL 17, 18 and 19). One year later the first volume of this work

46. Although not exclusively concerning *The Waning* but also many times *Homo ludens*: The most convincing theory was posited by Huizinga, who argues in *Homo Ludens* that judicial combat proceeds from a fundamental need to transcend and escape from inner barbarism. It is “an appropriate substitute for war, a concise proof, in agonistic form, of the superiority of one of the parties.”³ Since judicial combat was such a ritualized, formal pursuit, it was considered a legitimate legal means to the settlement of a dispute. . Huizinga sees this as a fundamentally ludic though entirely serious element of culture, and “one of the strongest incentives to civilization.” (J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens* (London, 1970), 123). Philip the Fair issued an ordinance in 1303 at Tolouse, where private warfare was particularly common, interdicting “*guerras, bella, homicidia, villarum et domorum incendia, aggressiones vel invasiones agricolarum...provocationes etiam ad duellum et gagia duellorum*” (*Ordonnances des Rois de France de la Troisième Race*, ed. J.E. Laurière, i (Paris, 1723), 390-2). This text was ultimately supplanted by the Paris ordinance of 1306, which became the definitive legal treatise on judicial combat. This document permits the wager of battle under certain circumstances, and prescribes the rituals for its legal enactment (*Ordonnances*, 335-441). The ordinance contains detailed rules governing the equipment used in the wager of battle, including the weapons carried into the ring, the kinds of permissible armor, and even a prohibition against sorcery and witchcraft. This ordinance governs only judicial duels between members of the aristocracy in which the participants are heavily loaded with weapons and armor. The weapons and armor employed were virtually the same for both the appellant and the defendant. The weapons were also often the same when champions representing the lower classes clashed in the courts. In the property contest around 1100 between one Engelardus and the monks of St. Serge of Angers, the champions fought it out only with shields and staves (*scutis et baculis*) (in *Cartulaire de L'Abbaye de St. Serge*, ed. Yves Chauvin, *Memoire dactylographie soutenu devant la Faculte des lettres de Caen*, 2 vols (Caen, 1969), vol i, no. 244, 285-288). In 1315, Philip Augustus decreed that the staves employed by champions may not exceed three feet in length. Many English sources also mandate the weapons required for the appellant and the defendant, equally emphasizing the of parity between both combatants. A seminal letter from Thomas, Duke of Gloucester and Constable of England to King Richard II, sets the standard for English judicial duels: “Than he schall awarde them poynets of armes otherwise callid wepenes, ayther of them schal have, that is to say, longe swerde schorte and dagger, so that the appellant and defendaut, fynde sufficiaunt surete & plegges that echon of them schal come at this seyde day...” (Viscount Dillon, *On a MS. collection of ordinances of chivalry of the fifteenth century, belonging to Lord Hastings*, in *Archaeologia* LVII, 1901, 64).

47. J. Burckhardt, *Frihe Schriften* (Berlin-Leipzig: Deutsche Berlags Unstalt Stuttgart, 1930. WIA 30/139 HAH 425). Inside the first volume of *The Complete Work of Burckhardt* we found the leaflet of the editor/bookseller announcing the production of that work in 1929. The Acquisition Pressmark is of 1930 (30/139) but very possibly it was already ordered by Warburg in 1929 on behalf of the small editor leaflet.

arrived in the shelves of the Warburg Library with Acquisition Pressmark number 30/139. And a very special volume written by Burckhardt was going to be personally kept by Warburg until his death⁴⁸.

The inspiring work of Burckhardt was going to be especially present in the late work of Warburg called *Mnemosyne*. "All we can take with us on this journey", he wrote, "is the ever fugitive interval between impulse and action; it is left to us how long we can extend this breathing-space with the help of *Mnemosyne*".

Mnemosyne, memory, became the key-word of Warburg's last years – *Säftesteigen*, sap rising was his metaphor for the process. It was not something that could be wholly communicated in words, and the photographs had formed an inseparable part of the Library were brought into play. A set of screens was made on which the graphic part of *Mnemosyne* could be displayed in images, themselves re-arranged and re-presented, as the thought behind them grew and changed⁴⁹.

Warburg entitled the series 'Mnemosyne, A Picture Series Examining the Function of Preconditioned Antiquity-Related Expressive Values for the Presentation of Eventful Life in the Art of the European Renaissance'. The atlas was fundamentally the attempt to combine the philosophical with the image-historical approach. Attached on wooden boards covered with black cloth are photographs of images, reproductions from books, and visual materials from newspapers and/or daily life, which Warburg had arranged in such a way that they illustrate one or several thematic areas. In addition, specific themes were reconfigured for individual exhibitions or lectures. The last existing series originally consisted of 63 tableaux. Warburg's working style might today be categorized as researching <visual clusters>. Only these are not ordered according to visual similarity, evident in the sense of an iconographic history of style; but rather through relationships caused by an <affinity for one another> and the principle of <good company,> which let themselves be reconstructed through the study of texts (as for example, contract conditions or biological associations)⁵⁰. (PL 20-21)

Warburg could take over the material for the graphic representation of the dramatic process of renaissance of human values to the springs of European inspiration from his previous monographic studies. He could contrast the art

48. J. Burckhardt and H. Brenner, *Brieffe*, WIL HAH 425.

49. Barker, *The Book Collector*, Vol. 39, 2, 1990.

50. Cf. Martin Warnke (ed.), *Aby Warburg. Der Bilderatlas MNEMOSYNE*, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2003, 2nd printing).

alla francese as favoured by the Medici circle, the tapestries, the Nordic grotesque, and Nordic realism with the re-statement of these themes 'all'antica' through Donatello, Pollaiuolo, and Botticelli. He could show the social sphere in which this clash took on his most dramatic form, the tournaments and love-emblems, the domestic sphere of *cassoni* and the devotional sphere of ecclesiastic donations. All of this, thanks to the *Mnemosyne* could be brought back to the mind in palpable symbols.

All of this is as to say that Warburg evoked history through images that were exposed in different pannels and even carefully planned for being hung on his walls around a central rounded table (see floor hand-drawn plan in PL 22 of 1929 with the written word *Mnemosyne* on paper)⁵¹.

Is it not some sort of Hegelian pre-postulate to visualize the rebirth of Antiquity in Italy as a new cultural spring, like Burckhardt would propose the State as a work of art; or similarly what Huizinga's belief in the Autumn as an explanation for the decadence of the Middle Ages? And likewise, his postulation of the crisis of America as an unviable cultural pattern⁵², or even the literary concept of the *Shadow of tomorrow*⁵³ as a metaphor for the pessimistic horizon with the Second World War still in progress?

On the eleventh of March 1921 the historian André Jolles has written to Johan Huizinga as follows: "A twenty-five year old friendship both dealing with the problem of the Renaissance"⁵⁴. In fact, the ideal background for both Jolles and Huizinga is Jacob Burckhardt to whom belongs the artistical creation of the concept of 'renaissance'. The most profound meaning of the golden age – Jolles has written to his friend Huizinga in 1920 – is impossible to know, but we can suspect that the author of *Kultur der Renaissance* was able to do. Through the perfect union between Instinct, Art and Science, Burckhardt

51. A. Warburg, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg mit Eiträgen von Gertrud Bing und Fritz Saxl*, p. 202.

52. J. Huizinga, *Amerika Levend en Denkend: Losse Opmerkingen* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & zoon, [pref. 1926]), Ex Bibliotheca Henri Frankfort WIA73/1785 HCM 1300.

53. J. Huizinga, *In de schaduwen van morgen: een diagnose van het geestelijk lijden van onzen tijd* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1935), Ex Bibliotheca Henri Frankfort, WIA 57/678. HAH 510; J. Huizinga, *In the Shadow of Tomorrow: A Diagnosis of the Spiritual Distemper of our Time* (London, Toronto: W. Heinemann, Ltd, 1936), WIA 37/139.

54. J. Huizinga, *Briefwisseling (1894-1924)*, ed. by L. Hanssen, et al. (Utrecht: Veen Tjeenk Willink, 1989), n. 328, p. 326, quoted in: S. Contarini, 'Gli asfodeli della storia. A proposito della "Corrispondenza" di Johan Huizinga' in *Intersezioni*, a. XI, n. 1, April 1991, p. 161.

was managing to fix the real physionomy of a historical phenomenon, and to call it Renaissance⁵⁵.

However, a key-point to be considered is that not only the Warburg's *Mnemosyne* is going in the way of considering history as collective and visual repository, but also the library where for many years Huizinga's bibliography was going to be acquired, despite the initial reluctance. Aby Warburg joins himself to the general opinion among historians that *The Waning* is some sort of narrative story and not a serious history. But at the same time, he feels innerly obliged to read it: *Werde leider Huizinga lesen müssen* ("I have to read more Huizinga", 1929. See PL 23).

In what would consist Warburg's so often fatal attraction for the so-called 'Dutch Burckhardt'⁵⁶? In both we see the predominance of the visual culture put under strict historiographical laws. For Huizinga, the paintings of the brothers Van Eyck are central to his consideration of historical rules: his 'feeling of forms' as a vague historical sense shows a tendency to confuse the issue by blurring mental habits and forms of thought (whose study remains the legitimate task of cultural history) with woolly observations about 'the spirit of an age' or 'the soul of his epoch'⁵⁷. Another example of Huizinga's feeling forms is taken from his notes from the *Dictionnaire* of Viollet-le-Duc architectural visual recreations of Middle Ages, see PL 24). The naturalism of the van Eycks was the core of his dual response to the ideas of both *La Renaissance septentrionale* and *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*⁵⁸. Moreover, for Warburg's *Mnemosyne* there are 'necessary laws' to regulate the 'hyper-links' between the selected pictures for his panels; he needs a 'historical causality principle' to fit all in an integral interpretation of a historical fact.

There is only a philosophical explanation to the foundations for such a 'non-scientific' (inexact science) historiographical version of facts. And this point is again delivered by Burckhardt as a common basis to the following

55. 'Attraverso l'unione perfetta di Istinto, Arte e scienza era riuscito ad afferrare la fisionomia certa di un fenomeno storico, e a chiamarla Rinascimento' (Letter of 5 November 1920). Cf. J. Huizinga, *Briefwisseling (1894-1924)*, n. 315, p. 310. The translation is ours.

56. Cf. H. R. Guggisberg, 'Burckhardt und Huizinga: Zwei Historiker in der Krise ihrer Zeit' in K. Köster, *Johan Huizinga, 1872-1945* Oberursel, 1947, p. 155, 163, 173. Quoted in Aston, *England and the Waning of the Middle Ages*, p. 7, note 7.

57. See especially *Waning*, pp. 47, 206, 217, 237, 307. For criticism of Huizinga's 'specific morphology', see: P. Geyl, 'Huizinga as Accuser of his Age', in *History and Theory*, II, 1962-63, p. 255. Wesleyan University (Middletown).

58. In this respect, Margaret Aston points out that the Preface to the Dutch edition, which explains this role of the van Eycks and Burgundy as Huizinga's starting point, was unfortunately curtailed in the English edition. Cf. Aston, p. 4, note 19.

generations of historians, although interpretative forms of this kind easily become tendentious – if they do not start that way. In my view, both Warburg's *Mnemosyne* and Huizinga's *Waning* bore worrying signs of the Hegelian holism in which art, literature and life are to be regarded as manifestations of the 'spirit of an age', which was part of an inexorable dialectical process. Huizinga certainly uses some kind of interpretative *topoi*, used like building stones of a major theoretical system, as 'the hierarchic conception of society', 'the idea of chivalry', 'the vision of death', 'religious thought crystallizing into images'.

This Hegelian holism that both Warburg and Huizinga unconsciously share in their respective cultural history has a strong basis on the role of memory in the historiographical construction of the past. To this respect, Huizinga writes in 1925 as follows: "As activity in the historical sense, I do firstly think not in terms of the representation or in the form the past may assume, but in the perception of the past. Though as image of a certain part of the past, I mostly think not in a particular description but in a blurred (non fixed), variable and fluctuant representation [...] which is alive in the conscience of an entire generation"⁵⁹. Between the representation and his archetype or pattern, the idea of historical conscience is inserted as a particular perception of the historical fact that enlightens the past in sketch, being the history a kind of "inexact science"⁶⁰ where the hermeneutical contribution of Huizinga to the debate about form is precisely displayed. And therefore, in Huizinga's concept of history of cultural memory⁶¹ is interposed between historical facts and historians' hermeneutics.

It is probably under this 'tyranny' of Hegelian holism that Aby Warburg inherited from derivations and diversions of post-romantic historians like Oswald Spengler, Wilhelm Dilthey, Heinrich Wölfflin, Max Dvöřak or Julius von Schöller, that he was able to determine his criteria for gathering books to define the *Kulturwissenschaftliche Methode* he was going to postulate through his vast institutional enterprise. But in the fall of 1929 Warburg him-

59. This is our translation from Italian cited in J. Huizinga, 'Clio en Melpomene, Antwoord aan professor André Jolles' in *De Gids*, 89, 1925, III, 402 as quoted by Silvia Contarini, *Gli asfodeli della storia. A proposito della 'Corrispondenza' di Johan Huizinga*, p. 164.

60. Cf. J. Huizinga, 'De wetenschap der geschiedenis', in *Verzamelde Werken* (Haarlem, Tjeenk Willink, 1937, p. 45.

61. As understood in J. Assmann and Czaplicka, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity' in *New German Critique*, no. 65, Cultural History/Cultural Studies, (Spring-Summer, 1995), p. 126. My acknowledgment for this text to Dr. Jonathan Rolls, Assistant Librarian at The Warburg Institute London.

self did not know that the period of his directorship of the Warburg Institute was coming to an end.

Huizinga at the Warburg under Fritz Saxl: 1930-1948

Aby Warburg's work as historian was interrupted on 26th of October 1929 as a consequence of a fatal heart attack. He was no longer going to buy more of Huizinga's books. We are not sure whether he ultimately read the Dutch master or not. We do definitely know about his initial reluctance to *The Waning of the Middle Ages* and that he most surely purchased and read in German. We also know that he probably accepted Huizinga's historiographical work developed in his *Erasmus*, because of the American edition of 1924 with his personal *ExLibris* attached. But the Institute he founded had to keep going through, and in fact Fritz Saxl (1890-1948)⁶² substituted him in charge of the Library (1930-1948). A different vision of Huizinga's work was about to come. And a new historiographical contrast is going to be of interest for our purposes in this text.

In 1930, when Saxl himself had reached the age of forty, he came *de jure* into a title that he had *de facto* held for ten years. Yet there was a subtle difference. It was now up to him alone to prove the value of what had been entrusted to him, and to demonstrate that it had a message for a wider circle and more than one generation of scholars⁶³.

In the twenties Aby Warburg has been personally resistant to the reception of the work of Huizinga probably because of a generational gap between both. But from an institutional point he could not avoid the magnetism of *The Waning* and the founder acquired the first edition in Dutch and the first translations into other languages. Fritz Saxl will now rule the destination of the Warburg Library and we have to see what was going to be his attitude before the second major work of the Dutch master, *Homo ludens* first published in 1937.

After the *Reichstag* elections of 31 January 1933, which gave the Nazi's party a majority, Saxl did not hesitate for a moment. He resigned at once from his University appointment and decided he was not going to stay in Germany.

62. "Saxl studied in Vienna under Dvorak and in Berlin under Wölfflin. 'To understand the language of forms' remained for him the first task of an art historian, and in lecturing he often fell into the rhythms of Wölfflin's way of speaking even after he had returned to a less exclusive approach under Aby Warburg", (G. Bing, *Fritz Saxl (1890-1948). A Biographical Memoir by Gertrud Bing* (London: The Warburg Institute School of Advanced Study University of London, 1998), p. 2).

63. Cf. G. Bing, *Fritz Saxl*, p. 15.

He soon obtained *carte blanche* from Max Warburg⁶⁴ and also the unanimous support from the staff. After managing with different options⁶⁵ in May 1934 the Institute was settled in Thames House London. It was financially secured by joint contributions from Mr. Courtauld and the American Warburgs, but there was not money for high living, and what there was had been promised for only three short years of probation⁶⁶.

The library benefited from the unexpected riches of London's second-hand book trade. For the lectures Saxl found generous support from a good many English sympathizers, and scholars from France, Holland, Italy were pleased to lend their learning and prestige to the transplanted Institute.

In the period extending from the years prior to the migration of the Institute to London up to Warburg's death, Saxl and his staff purchased the following works of Huizinga: a small leaflet in Dutch about Alain de Lille (1932)⁶⁷, some studies about Philosophy of Culture in German (1930)⁶⁸ and another Dutch book concerning Cultural History (1930)⁶⁹. I would not say that Fritz Saxl acquired Huizinga's work as a consequence of his personal historiographical position, but because of his feeling of institutional responsibility, methodological and historical commitment. He was very aware of the major position that Huizinga was taking in the European intellectual map and about his future role in the historiography of culture.

In 1933 Saxl and Huizinga must have met each other to do some academic work. The fact is that the Warburg Institute Library has an offprint of a Huizinga's text entitled 'La physionomie morale de Philippe Le Bon'⁷⁰, that the author surely delivered to Saxl at any time in 1933. The leaflet was very

64. Aby Warburg's brother, who was in charge of the financial resources of the Institute.

65. For a detailed history of The Warburg Institute Library, I suggest: F. Saxl, 'The History of Warburg's Library (1886-1944)', in E. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography* (London: The Warburg Institute University of London, 1970).

66. G. Bing, *Fritz Saxl*, p. 19.

67. J. Huizinga, *Über die verknüpfung des poetischen mit dem theologischen bei Alanus de Insulis* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche uitgevers-maatschappij, 1932); Pressmark ABB310 and Acquisition Book Mark 32/1438.

68. J. Huizinga, *Wege der Kulturgeschichte: Studien* (München: Drei Masken, 1930); Pressmark HAH 510, Acquisition Mark 30/1822.

69. J. Huizinga, *Cultuurhistorische Verkenningen* (Haarlem, N/V: H. D Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1929); Pressmark HAH 510, Acquisition Mark 30/1799.

70. J. Huizinga, 'La physionomie morale de Philippe Le Bon', Offprint of: *Annales de Bourgogne*, Revue historique trimestrielle publiée sous le Patronage de l'Université de Dijon de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts & Belle-Lettres de Dijon et de la ville de Dijon, Dijon, (1933?), with an inscription by the author: 'Herrn Prof. Saxl d. T. 17.VI.33', WIA 33/693 HDC 80.

formally dedicated to the young director of the Warburg Library: 'Herrn Prof. Saxl d. T. 17.VI.'33. (PL 25)

On the 16th of June 1921 Johan Huizinga delivered a lecture at the general assembly of the *Société d'Histoire Diplomatique* on the value of chivalric ideas at the end of the Middle Ages⁷¹. This work was turned into a moral physiognomy of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, as a kind of political and military archetype very close in time to the *Reichtag* elections of 31 January 1933. The Huizinga's offprint delivered to Saxl as an academic present was published in France and given to him five months later the victory of the Nazi party in Germany. In the next year, as a consequence of the Nazi's danger, the Warburg Institute Library was going to be moved into London.

For Huizinga, Philip the Good represents "something (like) the chimerical but nonetheless sincere craving to conform to the chivalric ideal by posing before all world as the champion of justice who does not hesitate to sacrifice himself for his people"⁷². And at the same time, Saxl himself was going to sacrifice his own intellectual career on behalf of the institutional development of the Warburg Institute in London.

In 1937 Saxl bought *In the Shadow of Tomorrow*⁷³, an essay by the Dutch master that was back to the idea of a sort of *autumn* or decadence of contemporary Europe about to be in the Second World War. He was using the archetypical idea of a crisis of spiritual values, symptoms of cultural devitalisation and degeneration, as he did in *The Waning*, and as he will do in 1945 with *Geschonden wereld*, written while imprisoned by the Nazis, as an attempt of treatise on the chances of restoring Western civilization⁷⁴.

Between 1937, the year of his Seminar about the culture of play, and 1948 Fritz Saxl acquired some other books by Huizinga, thus enlarging the Warburg Institute's institutional historiographical commitment with the Dutch histo-

71. First published in the 'Le valeur politique et militaire des idées de chevalerie à la fin du moyen âge', in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, XXXV, 1921, p. 126-138. Translated into English in J. Huizinga, *Men and Ideas*, trans. by James S. Holmes and Hans van Marle (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1959), translated from texts in *Verzamelde Werken* (1948-1953), H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, p. 196-206: WIA 68/2020, HAH 510.

72. J. Huizinga, *J. Men and Ideas*, trans. from *Verzamelde Werken* (1948-1953), p. 200-01.

73. J. Huizinga, *In the Shadow of Tomorrow*. J. Huizinga, *In the Shadow of Tomorrow: A Diagnosis of the Spiritual Distemper of our Time*, trans. from the Dutch by J. H. Huizinga, London-Toronto: W. Heinemann, Ltd., 1936.

74. J. Huizinga, *Geschonden wereld Een beschouwing over de kansen op herstel van onze beschaving* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1945). In French, J. Huizinga, *À l'aube de la paix. Étude sur les chances de rétablissement de notre civilisation*, trans. by Cécile Seresia (Amsterdam, Anvers: Éditions Panthéon S.A., 1945).

rian. In 1938, the first edition of the *Homo ludens*⁷⁵, in 1947 *My Path into History* – an autobiographical and intellectual text⁷⁶, and in 1946 both *Parerga* and *Wenn die Waffen Schweigen* (If the Weapons Silence) again concerning the prospects for recovery in European culture⁷⁷.

Huizinga at the Warburg Institute Seminar: The Role of Play in Culture (1937)

In the second year of the new London era (1936) a series on ‘The Cultural Function of Play’ was organised, including Henri Focillon and Johan Huizinga among the speakers⁷⁸. In fact, Fritz Saxl (being in London) wrote a letter to Erwin Panofsky (in Princeton, New Jersey) in which he said the following: “This year we have a strange Seminar over play⁷⁹, *The Play Animal*⁸⁰, *Play and*

75. J. Huizinga, *Homo ludens: Proeve eener bepaling van het spel-element der cultuur* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1938): WIA 39/766.

76. J. Huizinga, *Mein Weg zur Geschichte. Letzte Reden und Skizzen* (Klosterberg, Basel: Verlag Benno Schwabe & Co., 194): WIA 47/19 in German.

77. J. Huizinga, *Parerga* (Burg-Verlag-Basel: Pantheon Verlag Schweizerische Lizenzausgabe, 1945): WIA 46/946; J. Huizinga, *Wenn die Waffen Schweigen. Die Aussichten auf Genesung Unserer Kultur* (Burg-Verlag-Basel: Pantheon Verlag Schweizerische Lizenzausgabe, 1945): WIA 46/948.

78. “The programme of lectures and courses that the Institute arranged for 1936/7 gives a striking indication of its momentum. In the first of these years, it combined Niels Bohr on ‘Some Humanistic Aspects of Natural Science’, with EA Lowe on ‘Roman Culture Before and After the Carolingian Reform, as Neglected in Latin Manuscripts’, and Ernst Cassirer on ‘Critical Idealism as a Philosophy of Culture’. In the following year Konrad Lorenz, Henri Focillon, Johan Huizinga, Ernst Kris, and WG Constable all spoke on different aspects of the cultural function of play” (N. Mann, ‘Two Way Traffic: the Warburg Institute as a Microcosm of Cultural Exchange between Britain and Europe’, in *The British Contribution to the Europe of the Twenty-First Century* ed. by B. Markesinis (Oxford-Portland Oregon: The British Academy Centenary Lectures, 2002) p. 97).

79. “Die Ankündigung der gedruckten Programmschen dem 12. 01. Und 29. 06. 1937 im WI statt. 27.11.1936”, as quoted in: Wuttke, D. (Herausgegeben), *Erwin Panofsky Korrespondenz 1910 bis 1936. Eine kommentierte Auswahl in fünf Bänden*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001, Band I, p. 944.

80. Konrad Lorenz (Wien), *Biological Aspects of Play*.

Aesthetics (Focillon⁸¹), *Play and Culture* (Huizinga⁸²), *Caricature* (!) (Kris⁸³), 'White' in the 18th Century and things like that (...)”⁸⁴.

Traces of those theses could be found in Huizinga's writings ever since 1903 (...) probably referring to his inaugural lecture on Buddhist studies”⁸⁵. He turns to the problematic nature of visualizing in the context of cultural history. The appeal of Buddhism on the West around the turn of the century was aesthetic rather than intellectual⁸⁶. On the other hand, an important ingredient in his intellectual formation is that he was captivated by the influence of E. B. Taylor's *Primitive Culture* (1871), which meant a remarkable tendency to speak about 'primitive culture' or 'primitive mind'. The first book formulates the demand for a science of culture⁸⁷.

Gombrich himself attended that seminar: “The only time I was privileged to see and hear Johan Huizinga was in February 1937, when he came to England to present his ideas on culture and play in a public lecture at the Warburg Institute, which had recently arrived in London. When, in the autumn of 1933, Huizinga had reviewed the edition of Aby Warburg's *Gesammelte Schriften* with much sympathy and understanding, he had also paid tribute to Warburg's foundation and expressed the hope ‘that this beautiful plant should not perish in the storms of our harsh times’⁸⁸.”

“What was more natural than Fritz Saxl, Warburg's successor, who had piloted the Institute through the storm from Hamburg to the provisional haven of a London office block, had not delayed long till he invited the greatest living representative of *Kulturwissenschaft* to give a lecture?”⁸⁹

81. Henri Focillon (Paris), *Le Règle et le Jeu dans les Arts Plastiques*.

82. Johan Huizinga (Leiden), ‘The Play Element of Culture’. *Zur Genese des Vortrags vgl. Huizingas Vorwort zu Homo ludens. Vom Ursprung der Kultur im Spiel*. (Hamburg, Rowohlt's Deutsche Enzyklopadie edition, 1956). Erste Auflage 1938. 27.11.1936.

83. Ernst Kris (Wien), *Principles of Caricature*.

84. “Heuer haben wir einen sonderbaren Vortragszyklus: über Spiel, Spiel beim Tier, Spiel und Aesthetik (Focillon), Spiel und Kultur (Huizinga), Karrikatur (!) (Kris), ‘Witt’ im 18. Jahrh. Und dgl. (...)”. Cf. E. Panofsky, *Handschriftlich* (Archives of American Art, siehe Fundortverzeichnis unter Washington). This is published in: Wuttke, D. (Herausgegeben), *Erwin Panofsky Korrespondenz 1910 bis 1936. Eine kommentierte Auswahl in fünf Bänden* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001, Band I, n. 603 (Letter from Saxl to Panofsky dated 20 November 1936).

85. Huizinga, *Verzamelde Werken*, I, p. 148-72.

86. Gombrich, *Tributes*, p. 142, 144.

87. Huizinga, *Verzamelde Werken*, I, p. 17.

88. Huizinga, *Verzamelde Werken*, IV, p. 560.

89. Gombrich, *Tributes*, p. 139-40.

This means that the letter addressed by Saxl to Panofsky had been sent one week before the Lectures were going to take place in London. Of course Huizinga's *Homo ludens* only existed for that time in the mind of its author and his lecture at The Warburg Institute was going to be a proof before some of his scholarly colleagues⁹⁰.

On the 27th of November, Gertrud Bing wrote from London to Max Adolf Warburg (1902-1974)⁹¹ about Huizinga's lecture delivered on that same day: "We have a virtue out of necessity, or rather in this case better from the game made a rule, because Huizinga's lecture was actually from last year left and we had not basically any expects that he wanted to hold."⁹²

Huizinga's Role of Play as National Identity

In one of the best texts about the author of *Homo ludens*, Ernst Gombrich says that at a very early time like 1897 Huizinga "liked to amuse himself composing humorous evocations of episodes in Dutch history, to which he gave the mock-solemn title 'A Selection of Memorable Pictures of Patriotic History' (PL 26). The series reveals his ambivalence towards the kind of patriotic history celebrated in the art of Salons"⁹³. As a consequence of this, we are justified in postulating that possibly Huizinga's vocation for play was in connection with his Dutch character and that his ability to play with historical fact might well be both cause and effect of a certain inclination of a kind of *national* personality.

In fact, he tells that when he was six years old⁹⁴ he was impressed by a pageant representing the entry of Count Edzard into Groningen in 1506 in a

90. Because the first edition in Dutch of the *Homo ludens* was going to appear in 1938: J. Huizinga, *Homo ludens. Proeve eener bepaling van het spel-element der cultuur* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1938).

91. Son of Aby Warburg.

92. "Wir haben aus der Not eine Tugend oder vielmehr in diesem Falle besser aus dem Spiel eine Regel gemacht, denn Huizingas Vortrag war eigentlich vom letzten Jahr übrig geblieben und wir hatten im Grunde nicht erwartet, dass er daran festhalten wollte." Maschinenschriftlich Durchschlag. Warburg Institute, s. Fundortverzeichnis unter London, as quoted in: *Erwin Panofsky Korrespondenz*, I, p. 945.

93. E.H. Gombrich, 'The High Seriousness of Play. Reflections on *Homo ludens* by J. Huizinga (1872-1945)', in E.H. Gombrich, *Tributes. Interpreters of our Cultural Tradition* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited, 1984), p. 144.

94. Cf. J. Huizinga, *Mein Weg zur Geschichte. Letzte Reden und Skizzen* (Klosterberg, Basel: Verlag Benno Schwabe & Co., 1947); WIA 47/19.

procession⁹⁵⁹⁶. Does a special stress on the consideration of life as a game belong to a particular ludic Dutch sense of being? Is there something like a “miniature” mentality in Holland as a consequence of the particular circumstances of a small country that leads the Dutch into a special sense of fiction? Does a country like that, with such a difficult language and a very tough land give a especial contribution to the capacity of narration or aesthetic sense of reality?

These are difficult questions but we feel sure of some indirect answers to them, with the help of Gombrich's *Tributes*. For Huizinga the Middle Ages were not all chivalry, “but because chivalry was an expression of the aspirations of the age. He is concerned with collective dreams, with the fiction that is inseparable from civilization, in other words with chivalry not as an institution but as a game which nobility played and the others watched”⁹⁷.

By the time between Saxl's 1936 invitation to the Warburg Institute and the 1933 essay on Philip the Good, the risk of totalitarianism in Europe was encouraging Huizinga to the well founded preoccupation for national Dutch identity. The neutrality of Holland in the Great War was going to be turned to partiality in the Second World War. At the same time, “in Holland most leading historians since Fruin have concerned themselves with the Dutch national character: Kern, Geyl, Romein, Rüter and, naturally, Huizinga, who in 1934 published a famous essay entitled ‘The Spirit of the Netherlands’⁹⁸.

Many years before the rise of Nazism in Europe, Huizinga had grasped the cultural peculiarities of Dutch art: “Like so many others, he had in the summer of 1902 been fascinated by the large exhibition of ‘Flemish Primitives’ in Bruges”⁹⁹¹⁰⁰. The exhibition in Bruges drew renewed attention to the much-

95. J. Huizinga, *Verzamelde Werken*, I, p. 11-42, esp. 11.

96. Gombrich, *Tributes*, p. 143.

97. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

98. *Nederland's geestesmerk*, in E. De Jongh, ‘Real Dutch Art and not-so-real Dutch Art: Some Nationalistic Views of the Seventeenth Century Netherlandish Painting’, in *Simiolus. Netherland Quarterly for the History of Art*, Vol 20, (1990/1), p. 199.

99. J. Huizinga, *Verzamelde Werken*, 1: 32-33. See also J. Huizinga, *Briefwisseling*, 1: 46-48. For the general impact of this exhibition, see F. Haskell, ‘Huizinga and the “Flemish Renaissance”’ (pp. 461-68) and W. E. Krul, ‘Realisme, Renaissance en nationalisme: cultuurstorische opvattingen over de Oud. Nederlandse schilderkunst tussen 1860 en 1920’, in ‘*Om Iets te Weten en Onderzoek Meesters*’, *De Vlaamse Primitieven-Herontdekking, Waardering en Onderzoek*, ed. by B. Ridderbor and H. Van Veen (Nijmegen: SUN, 1995), pp. 236-84, esp. 263-73.

100. W. Krul, ‘In the Mirror of Van Eyck: Johan Huizinga's *Autumn of the Middle Ages*’, in *The Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol 27, no. 3 (Fall 1997), Special Issue: ‘European Medieval Studies under Fire, 1919-1945’, p. 359.

debated problem of the relation between the Italian Renaissance and the contemporaneous cultural developments in the Netherlands. Moreover, the exhibition showed an unmistakable nationalistic tendency.

The organizing committee meant it as a demonstration of originality and the European importance of Belgian culture. The discovery of oil painting, made on Belgian soil, and its immediate use in an astonishing pictorial realism changed the course of European art. One of the major ingredients of the European tradition was therefore of Belgian origin. Many authors accepted the idea as proven fact that the fifteenth century had known a separate and independent Dutch style. Others tried to explain the specific qualities of Dutch seventeenth-century art by the lasting influence of late medieval artistic conceptions. This idea was repeatedly brought forward at the third centenary of Rembrandt's birth, which was celebrated in Holland in 1906 as a national holiday.

Huizinga followed these discussions with close attention¹⁰¹. This was the reason why he had opened his lecture course of 1909, announced as 'Cultural History of the Burgundian-netherlandish State', with a discussion of the seventeenth-century¹⁰². For him the art of seventeenth-century Holland was directly derived from the realism of early Netherlandish art, and was also the product of essentially medieval thought and attitudes. In this mentality, a case could be made for the exceptional character of Dutch painting in the courtly art of the European Baroque as the result of its continuing late medieval traditions. It seems that Huizinga was indeed aiming at this conclusion¹⁰³.

In 1911 Huizinga read a paper entitled 'On the Origins of our National Consciousness' at a conference in the presence of Henri Pirenne. When he published a much-expanded version of the article the following year, he dedicated it to Pirenne¹⁰⁴. For the essay was, in fact, even if he did not say it explicitly, a long critique of the tendency among historians (including Pirenne) to construct separate national identities for Holland and Belgium in the fifteenth century.

101. Krul, *In the Mirror of Van Eyck*, p. 360.

102. University Library, Leiden, Huizinga papers 27.

103. Krul, *In the Mirror of Van Eyck*, p. 364.

104. J. Huizinga, 'Uit de Voorgeschiedenis van ons National Besef', in *De Gids*, 76, part 1 (1912), p. 432-87, reproduced without the dedication in *Verzamelde Werken*, 2, p. 97-160. Huizinga later reworked part of the same material for a French audience in 'L'état bourguignon: Ses rapports avec la France et les origines d'une nationalité néerlandaise', in *Verzamelde Werken*, 2, p. 161-215.

A good part of the terminology used by earlier generations of art historians in their attempts to characterize seventeenth-century art is identical with, or at least has the same gist as, the terms in which national character is customarily described. Some of the traits which are frequently found in the literature on the Dutch national character are love of liberty, individualism, sobriety, domesticity, tranquility, burgher ideals, simplicity, severity, honesty, Calvinism and cleanliness.

It was the nineteenth-century historians and nineteenth-century nationalism that largely shaped our image of the seventeenth-century. In addition to Groen van Prinsterer, Bakhuizen van den Brink, Fruin and Potgieter, there was above all Busken Huet, not a professional historian but one whose cultural history *Het land van Rembrand*, which came out over 100 years ago, was nevertheless perhaps more instrumental in forging a vision of seventeenth-century Holland.¹⁰⁵

Huizinga nonetheless began to doubt these nationalist conceptions¹⁰⁶. He was a man of strong patriotic conceptions. Ideas about national character and a deep respect for the achievements of his country can be found everywhere in his writings¹⁰⁷. But Huizinga's national feelings were rooted in pride and satisfaction, not in political ambition or a need for a national legitimization. The more he began to be skeptical of historical determinism, the more became critical of all attempts to justify present-day political ideals by making reference to the past¹⁰⁸.

However, to reject ideological nationalism was in Huizinga compatible with some sort of defense of a national identity belonging to one of the smallest and richest countries in the world. Was not Holland the country to be most fittingly called by History to play like a child? Was not the vision of the van Eycks a manipulation of reality, an optical play, in order to magnify the microscopic and to reduce the macroscopic reality? Don't we think that the late medieval tradition is connected with the seventeenth-century through the role of play in portraiture, caricature and even in imagined landscape art?

105. De Jongh, p. 199

106. In the *Waning of the Middle Ages* the cultural context of early Netherlandish painting was not Belgian or Dutch, let alone 'Germanic', but a French-speaking culture that included most of Netherlands and part of France. The dukes of Burgundy were, after all, a branch of the French royal house. (...). This is why Huizinga felt entitled to treat the Netherlands and northern France as one cultural entity (See Krul, *In the Mirror of Van Eyck*, p. 369).

107. See, for example, 'Patriotism and Nationalism in European History', in J. Huizinga, *Men and Ideas*, 1955, pp. 97-155.

108. Cf. Krul, *In the Mirror of Van Eyck*, p. 367-68.

Does not the role of play in culture give the Dutch history a really national aesthetic personality?

Huizinga's books at The Warburg Institute under Professor Henri Frankfort: 1948-54

Aby Warburg had bought the first 'Huizinga' for his library in 1924. After him, Gertrud Bing and Fritz Saxl had followed his institutional footprints until the death of the latter in 1948. Both of them had been 'co-founders' and 'continuers' of the original project. It was needed nonetheless a new personality for the new period. It ought to be a brilliant and international scholar like Professor Henri Frankfort.

Just a few remarks on his intellectual profile before drafting his position with regard to the work of Huizinga and its dealing under his direction of the Warburg until 1954.

In *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man*¹⁰⁹, like some tendencies in contemporary anthropology, he made an effort to understand and analyze a world-view foreign to Western thought, and, perhaps, over-emphasized the otherness. He presumed that, like in modern primitive societies, ancient societies conceived man always as part of society, and society embedded in nature and dependent on cosmic forces.

In *Kingship and the Gods*¹¹⁰, the Ancient Near Eastern mind made no distinction between appearance and reality, nor between subjective and objective knowledge. It looked for the *who*, not the *why*, when it looked for a cause. Similarly, its conception of space and time was qualitative and concrete rather than quantitative and abstract. The imagery of myth is not allegory, said Frankfort, but a carefully chosen cloak for abstract thought, revealing a metaphysical truth, and imparting speculative thought. This is what he called 'mythopoeic thought'. After the surveys of the ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Hebrew conceptions of the universe, the function of the state, and the values of life from this perspective, Frankfort traced the 'emancipation of thought from myth' through early Greek philosophy.

109. H. Frankfort, H. A. And, et al, *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: an Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944).

110. H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: a Study of Ancient Near Eastern as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1948).

This book was a success, and had a lasting effect. It was repeatedly re-printed, and was translated into several other European languages. As the first attempt of analyzing and classifying pre-Greek thought, this contribution was certainly thought-provoking, and that was perhaps its greatest merit to be appointed as the substitute of Professor Fritz Saxl, who died in 1947.

When Professor Frankfort (1897-1954), was offered the directorship of the Warburg Institute, together with a professorship at the University of London in 1948, he gladly accepted, and the family moved permanently back to England. In the highly stimulating introduction, entitled *Myth and Reality*, he had offered an insightful perspective on primitive thought, indebted to Ernst Cassirer's *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*¹¹¹, another scholar linked to the history of the Warburg Institute.

Between 1948 and 1954, Frankfort was going to be in charge of the Warburg Institute Library. We know that he was already interested in Huizinga's work, out of the composition of his personal library which reached the Warburg Institute shelves short after he died, in 1957. Relevant volumes were coming with the inscription 'Ex bibliotheca Henri Frankfort' attached (PL 27). They were incorporated to the library mostly in 1957¹¹², but also in 1960¹¹³ and lastly in 1973¹¹⁴.

Apart from his personal affection and empathy to the Huizinga's work, he also completed the shelves of the Warburg Institute with some other new titles like his *Erzamelde Werken* (purchased between 1948 and 1954)¹¹⁵, two copies

111. E. Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen II: Das mythische Denken* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1925).

112. J. Huizinga, *De Wetenschap der Geschiedeni* (Haarlem, H. D.: Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V., 1937): Ex Bibliotheca Henri Frankfort WIA 57/728. His historiographical analysis of some prominent historians; J. Huizinga, *Geschieden Wereld. Een Beschouwing over de Kansen op Herstel van Onze Beschaving* (H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V., 1945): Ex Bibliotheca Henri Frankfort WIA 57/679; J. Huizinga, *In de schaduwen van morgen: een diagnose van het geestelijk lijden van onzen tijd* (Haarlem, H. D.: Tjeenk Willink, 1935): Ex Bibliotheca Henri Frankfort, WIA 57/678. HAH 510

113. J. Huizinga, 'Over Vormverandering der Geschiedenis', in *Mededeelingen der Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkund*, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel, 4, N. 3, Amsterdam, Uitgrave van de N. V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij (1941): Ex Bibliotheca Henri Frankfort WIA 60/1867; J. Huizinga, 'Natuurbeeld en Historiebeeld in de Achttiende Eeuw', Offprint from *Neophilologus*, 19 (1934), p. 81-95: Ex Bibliotheca Henri Frankfort WIA 60/2484 Pressmark HAF 65.

114. J. Huizinga, *Amerika Levend en Denkend: Losse Opmerkingen* (Haarlem, H.D.: Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, [pref. 1926]): Ex Bibliotheca Henri Frankfort WIA 73/1785 HCM 1300.

115. J. Huizinga, *Erzamelde Werken*, 9 vols (Haarlem, H. D.: Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V., 1948): WIA 48/1637.

of *Homo ludens* in English (in 1949¹¹⁶ and 1954¹¹⁷). The first volume of Burckhardt's *Brieffe* was bought in 1949¹¹⁸ and progressively the rest of them until completing the whole set of ten volumes plus *Index* until 1994.

In 1957 Gertrud Bing (as the new director of the Library between 1954 and 1958) also acquired some other Burckhardt's writings interested, as she was, in the paths of History of Culture and visual art¹¹⁹. At the death of Henri Frankfort she included, as said above, Huizinga's titles from Frankfort's personal library within the collections of the Warburg Institute (see PL 28 with a copy in Dutch of Huizinga's *The Science of History*, which was in Frankfort's possession probably until his death)¹²⁰.

Gombrich Tributes: 1959-1976

At the seminar held at the Warburg Institute, a young Ernst Gombrich met Johan Huizinga. "It was a different Huizinga we met on that occasion, not the author of an historical bestseller, but the deeply troubled critic of civilization who felt the urge to return to fundamentals and to draw his personal conclusions from a lifetime of study"¹²¹. "The romantic aestheticism he had always tried to keep under strict control offered itself as the only refuge from the modern world, from which he felt increasingly alienated"¹²².

During the time Gombrich became the director of the Warburg Institute, he had already published his *Story of Art* in English (1950)¹²³ and in German (1953)¹²⁴. In 1973 he published an essay in German about Huizinga¹²⁵, and in

116. J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited, 1949): WIA 49/880.

117. J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London: Edward Arnold & Co., repr. copy of 1950): WIA 54/637, HDC 105.

118. WIA 49/1478.

119. J. Burckhardt, *Kulturgeschichtliche Vorträge* (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner, s/f): WIA 57/791 HAH 510; J. Burckhardt, *Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen* (Leipzig: Alfred Kröner, 1929): WIA 57/792.

120. J. Huizinga, *De Wetenschap der Geschiedenis* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V., 1937): WIA 57/728

121. Gombrich, *Tributes*, p. 140-141

122. *Ibid.*, p. 150

123. E.H. Gombrich, *The Story of Art* (London: Phaidon Press, 1950).

124. E.H. Gombrich, *Die Geschichte der Kunst* (Köln: Phaidon, 1953).

125. E.H. Gombrich, 'Huizinga's "Homo ludens"' in *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 88, (1973).

1975 another text in Italian¹²⁶. Both were surely used in 1984 for the more popular published in *Tributes* entitled 'The High Seriousness of Play'¹²⁷.

All of this means that Gombrich was more interested in Huizinga insofar as he provided a contemporary critical voice to the recent developments of the troubled European world after the wars and the onset of cultural decadence. In play Gombrich finds the paradox for contemporary history, where the game has to be taken in account as a serious way of life.

"I refer to Huizinga's unexpected interest in American civilization. He must have worked concurrently on the completion of *The Waning of the Middle Ages* and on his four essays on *Man and Mass in the United States*¹²⁸, which were published before the other book saw light in 1919"¹²⁹ (although he never went to the USA). He saw "that convenient formula of a conflict between the old and the new nearly broke down there, because in America the old lacked the strength it always had in European history. The real conflict in America was between man and nature; in other words, here was the model of a civilization that exemplified man's desire to improve his world rather than concern himself with hopes of the beyond or with the re-enactment of past glories"¹³⁰.

The works bought within the years of his direction were in fact mostly referred to the Huizinga's reflections on American way of life: *Men and Ideas* (1968)¹³¹ and *Amerika levend en denkend* (1973)¹³². He also had within his personal books (PL 29) two offprints on Huizinga's issues, surely delivered to him by the authors¹³³.

126. E.H. Gombrich, 'Huizinga e "homo ludens"', in *La Cultura*, 13, (1975).

127. Gombrich, *Tributes*.

128. Huizinga, *Verzamelde Werken*, V, p. 247-417.

129. Gombrich, *Tributes*, p. 148.

130. Gombrich, *Tributes*, p. 149.

131. J. Huizinga, *Men and Ideas*.

132. J. Huizinga, *Amerika levend en denkend: losse opmerkingen* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, [pref. 1926]): WIA 73/1785.

133. M. Aston, 'Huizinga's Harvest: England and The Waning of the Middle Ages', in *Medievalia et Humanistica. Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Culture*, New Series, 9, The Medieval and Renaissance Society, pp. 1-24: Ex Bibliotheca E. H. Gombrich, HAD 400; P. Geyl, 'Huizinga as Accuser of his Age', in *History and Theory*, vol II, n° 3, 1963, p. 231-262: Ex Bibliotheca E. H. Gombrich, HAD 400.

Conclusion: Huizinga's Meaning for Today's Warburg Institute Library

At the very beginning of this essay, we said that libraries constitute symbols of ourselves and of our own cultures and national *imaginaria*. Moreover, we mentioned that Jorge Luis Borges analyses the universe as if it was a library. We quoted Walter Benjamin in the following terms: "Every passion borders on chaos, and the collector's on that of memories". If we go today to the Warburg Institute, we will find thirty-nine of Huizinga's texts on the shelves of the library founded by Aby Warburg in 1922.

This is a humanities library with its own and exclusive classification scheme of books as Warburg planned from the beginning of the enterprise. We have seen what Huizinga's books are there, when were they purchased and by who, what are these books about, how they relate to a peculiar historiographical methodology called cultural history and finally to what extent they cultivate a potential Dutch sense of national identity, as far as the works are written by a historian who was born in Holland.

But there is a need for a final question: Where are these books physically placed and classified within the Warburgian scheme of classification? If we manage to answer this question, the problem of a 'convergence of identities' will be solved through the path of 'the place of Huizinga within the Warburg Institute Library'.

We quote Fritz Saxl to point just a few remarks on the distribution of books in the four-storey building of Bloomsbury Woburn Square since built in 1954: "The books were arranged in four storeys"¹³⁴. "The first storey contains the material for a psychology of the image (Pressmark 'C'); the second storey begins with the symbolism in general, of expression, of scriptology and mimesis and of the function of memory. Then come the materials of religious psychology and its individual problems ecstasy, mysticism, etc. (Pressmark 'F'), and material of the history of religion, cosmology, natural science and philosophy (Pressmarks 'B', 'G', and 'A'). The third storey contains the word (language, literatures, the history of the transmission of classical imagery) (Pressmarks 'E' and 'N')"¹³⁵. Finally on the fourth storey the 'action', i.e. political history, the history of social forms and especially, for example, that of

134. F. Saxl, 'Die Geschichte der Bibliothek Warburg' in E. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: Eine intellektuelle Biographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag KG, 1984), p. 443.

135. F. Saxl, 'Die Ausdrucksgebärden der bildenden Kunst', in *Bericht über den XII. Kongress der deutschen Gesellschaft für Psychologie in Hamburg vom 12.-16. April 1931*, Jena 1932.

festivals" (Pressmarks 'D' and 'H')¹³⁶. In other words, here is the chaos that Walter Benjamin referred to and that is only understandable by the possibilities of memory; here we have a library as a symbol of the universe as postulated in Borges fiction *The Library of Babel*.

As with the organisation of the books, memories are so elastic, and Saxl's retrospective view of the history of the library is perhaps somewhat inaccurate or misleading. But the only possibility of understanding an order is recurring to the art of memory.

Like the library, iconology is also a mode of disinterring and remembering the buried, multiform legacy of the past; the task is to conserve, research and convey it. It is the only way our perception of the objects can be sharpened and vitalised, and remain so. Images and texts are inexhaustible reservoirs of meaning – meaning which is produced as an interweaving of present and past¹³⁷. Only by methodical, painstaking work can the mnemonic images be brought to light out of the deposits of facts, as concentrations in image form of past, unresolved experience¹³⁸.

And now Huizinga's words from his essay on 'The Aesthetic Element in Historical Thought', where he quotes the historian Windelband: "The historian has the task of reviving a picture or pictures from the past. He must fashion what once existed in reality much as the artist fashions what exists in his present imagination. Here lies the relationship between history and aesthetic creation"¹³⁹.

Now we come back to our original question: Where are Huizinga's books physically placed and classified within the Warburgian scheme of classification? The vast majority of them correspond to the pressmarks HAH and HDC, both in the section of Political History, within the storey under the *motto* of "Action". The second group in number is in the floor of "Word" under the mark of 'N' (NAH, NAD, NAC, NHD): Preservation and Transmission of Classical Literature: Humanist and Vernacular Works. There are a certain number of books with 'D' (DCA, Social History). Then two items on Art History under the 'C' mark (CBF and CRD) and one under 'A' (ABB) in Philosophy. No items, therefore, in 'B' (Western Religion), 'F' (Magic and

136. The addition of pressmarks to the text of Saxl is ours.

137. Cf. J. Fűrnkäs, *Surrealismus als Erkenntnis. Walter Benjamin – Weimarer Einbahnstrasse und Pariser Passagen* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1988), p. 146 f.

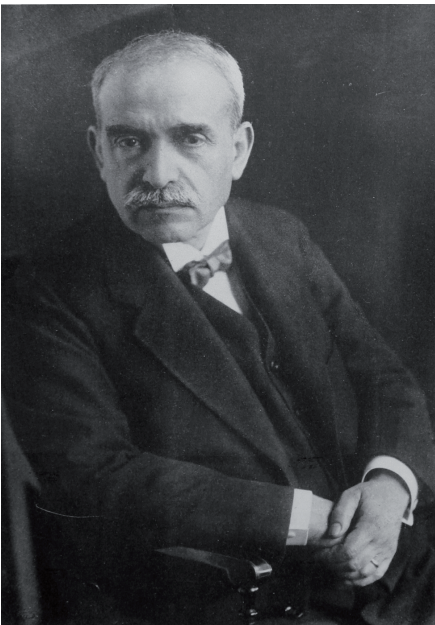
138. Cf. Bauerle, *On the Warburg Humanities Library*, pp. 260–61.

139. Windelband, *Geschichtwe und Naturwissenschaft*, p. 30. quoted in J. Huizinga, *Dutch Civilisation in the 17th Century and other Essays* (London and Glasgow: The Fontana Library, 1968), p. 230

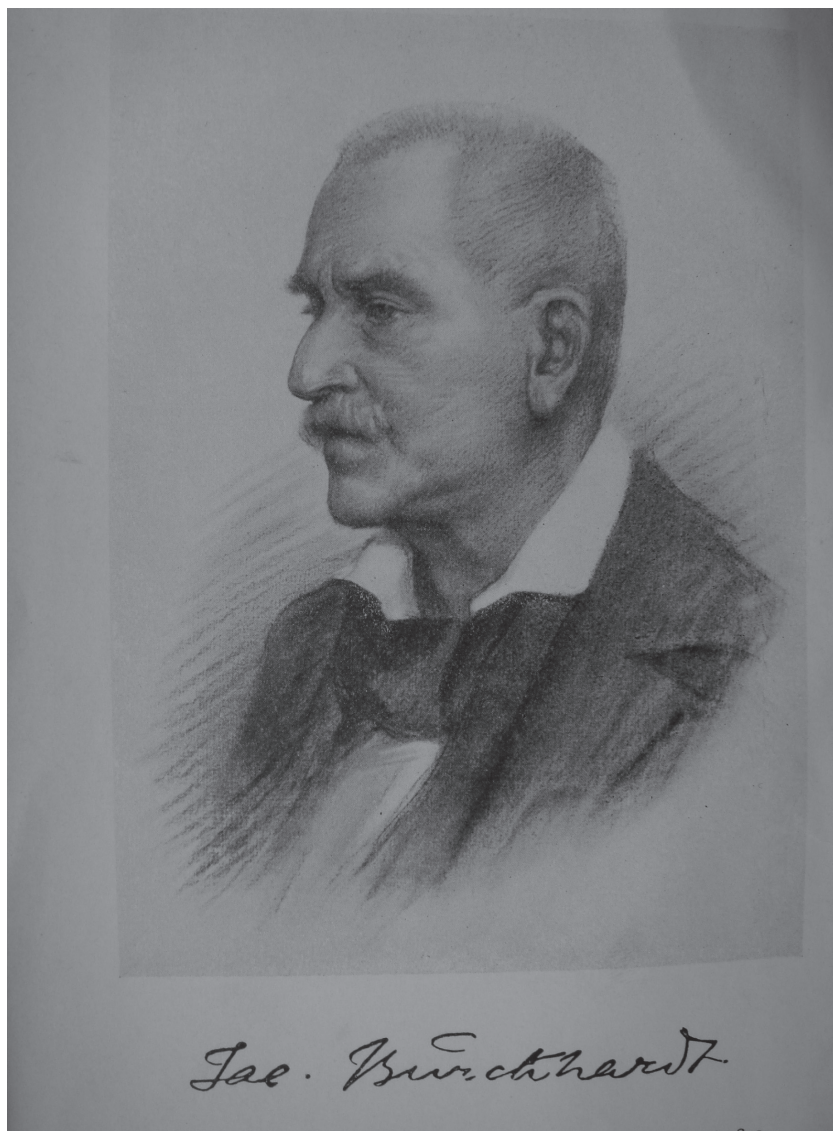
Science) and 'G' (Eastern Religions). This is not a poor conclusion on the convergence of cultural identities inside the building of a great library at the core of the most literary London.



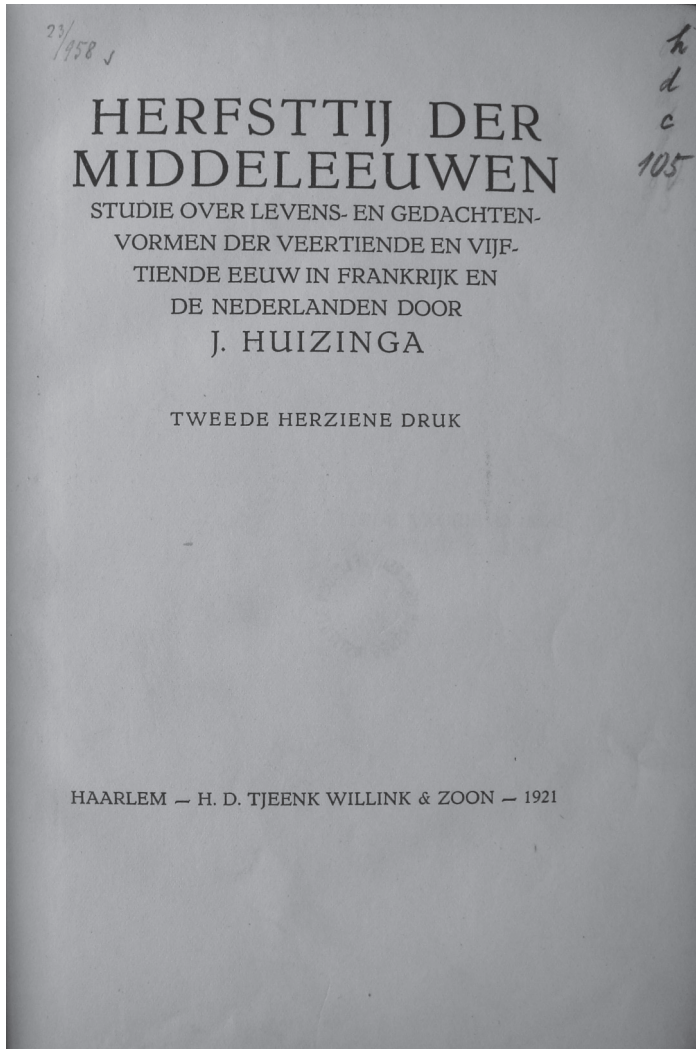
1. *Portraits of Johan Huizinga*. Photography and drawing (10th July 1929 and signed with "L.O.W." with the inscription of his personal handwritten signature published in: Huizinga, J., *Cultuur-historische verkenningen*, Haarlem, H.D. Tjeenk Willink, 1929 (WIL, HAH 510)).



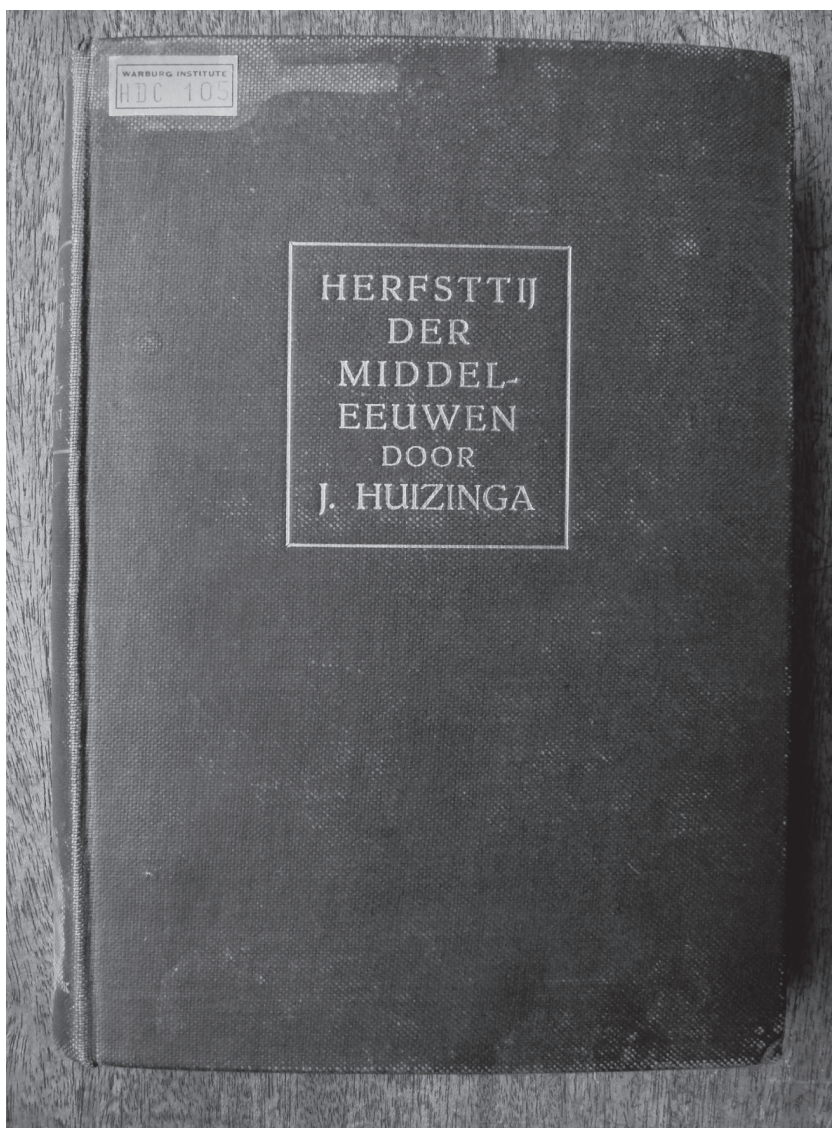
2. Photography portrait of Aby Warburg published in: Gombrich, E. *Aby Warburg. An Intellectual Biography*, London, The Warburg Institute University of London, 1970 (WIL, RR 284).



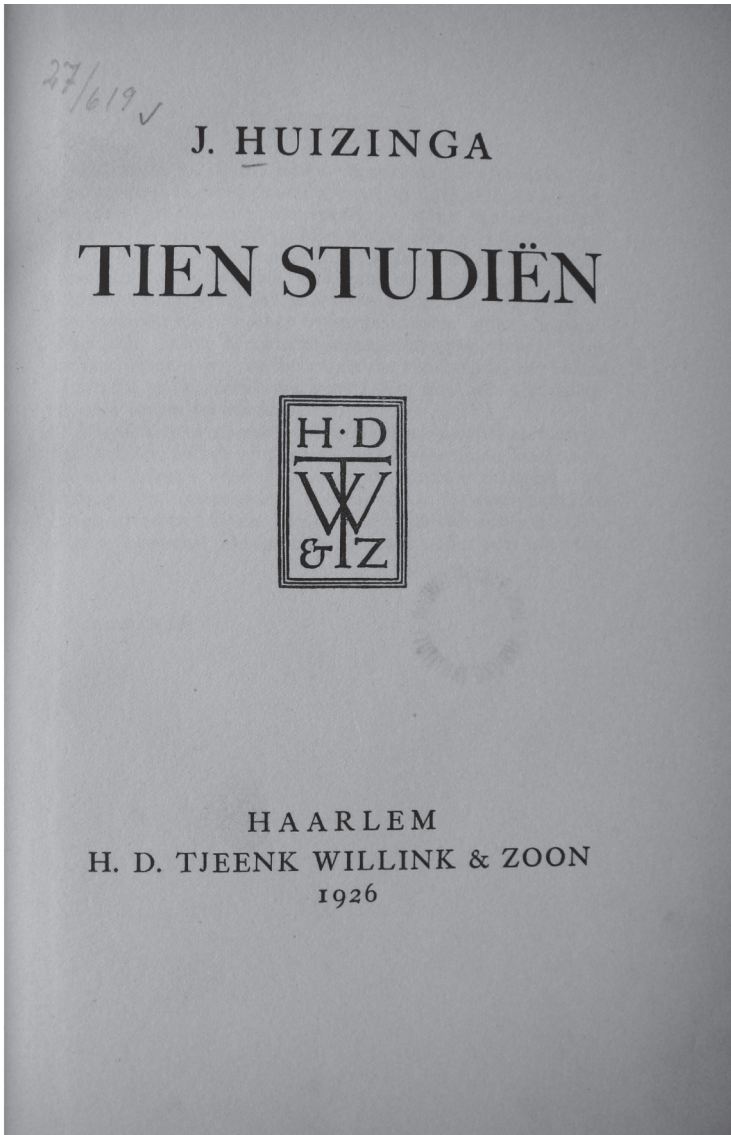
3. Portrait of Jacob Burckhardt with his signature.



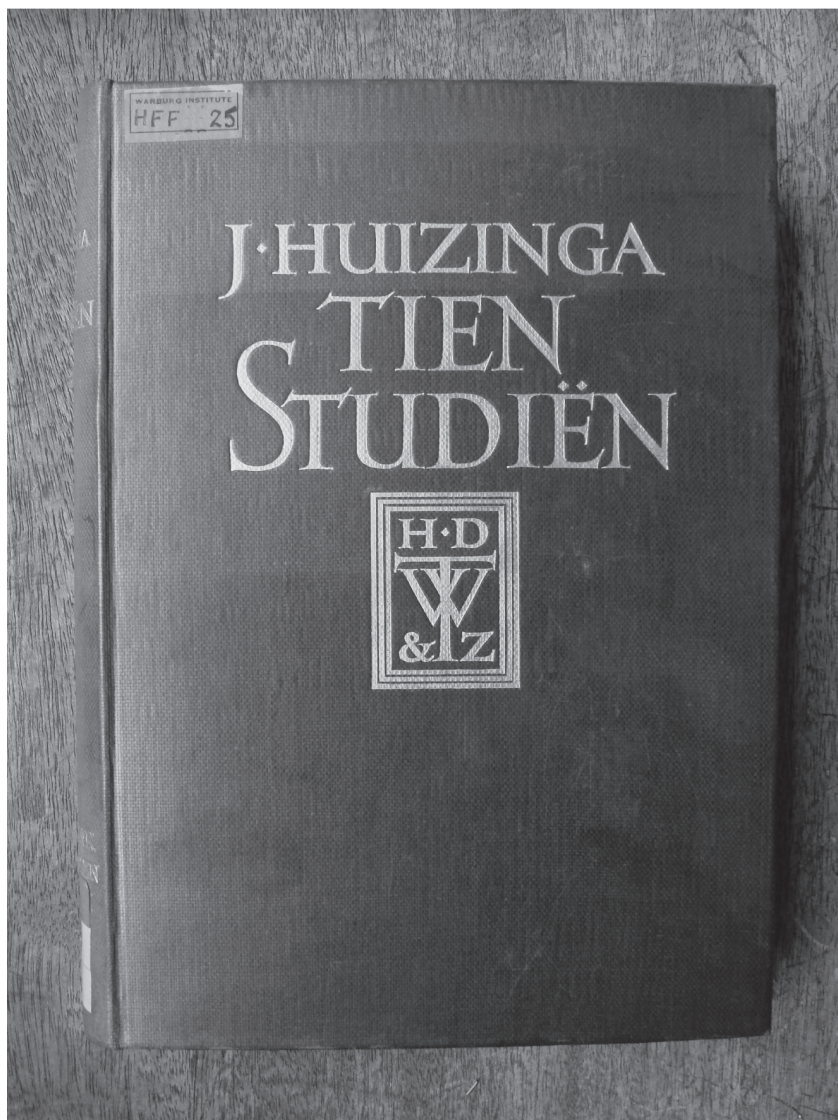
4. Frontispiece of 5.



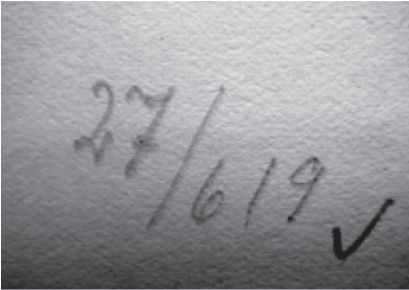
5. Frontcover of the copy of the Huizinga, J., *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden*, Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1921., kept and pressmarked at The Warburg Institute Library with HDC 105.



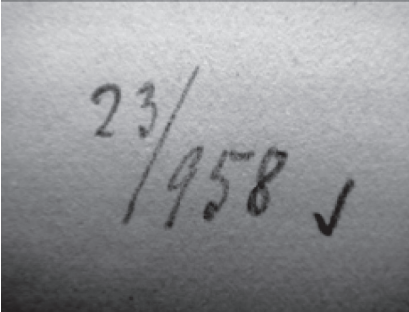
6. Frontispiece of .7.



7. Frontcover of the copy of the Huizinga, J., *Tien studiën*, Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1926, kept and pressmarked at The Warburg Institute Library with HFF 25.

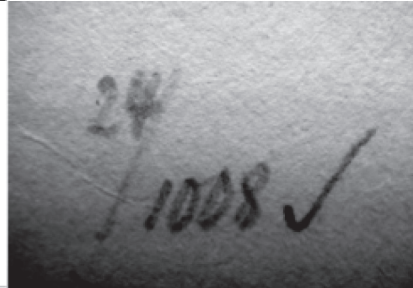


Huizinga, J., *Tien studiën*, Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1926, (WIL, HFF 25.)

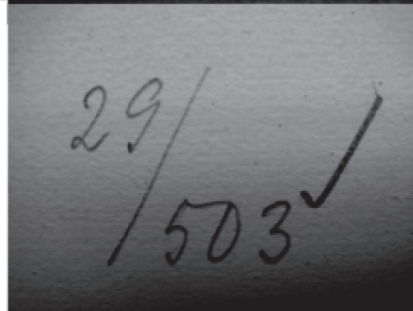


Huizinga, J., *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden*, Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1921., (WIL, HDC 105)

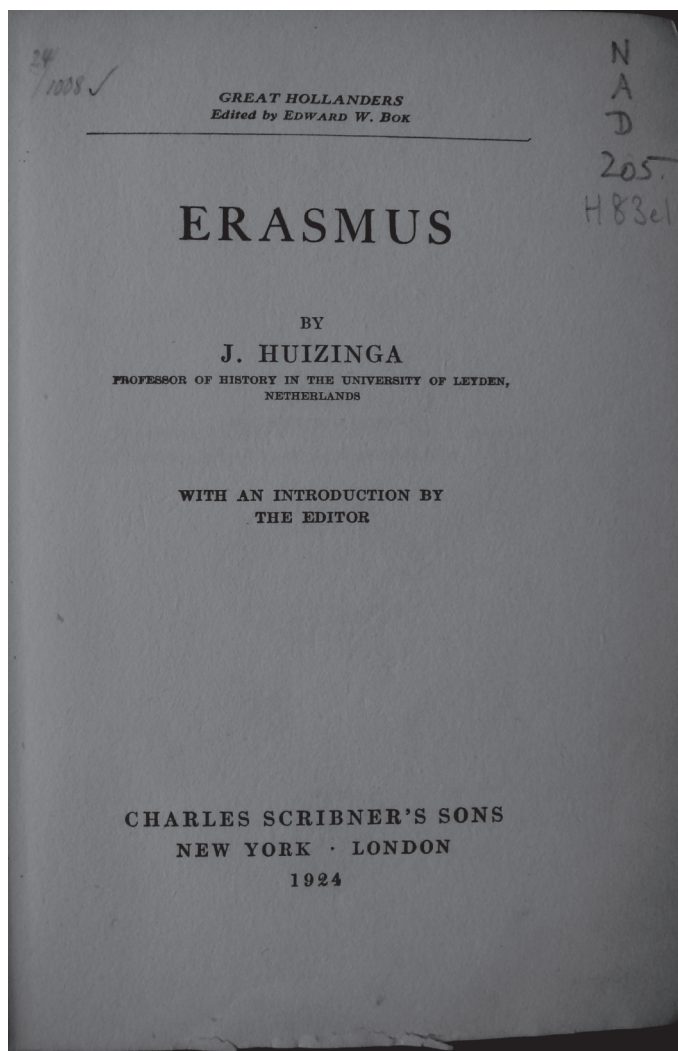
Huizinga, J., *Erasmus*, with an introduction by the editor [Edward W. Bok], New York ; London, Scribner, 1924 (WIL, NAD 205).



Huizinga, J., *Erasmus*, Basel, B. Schwabe & Co, 1928, provided with engravures of the artist Hans Holbein (WIL, NAD 215).



8. Acquisition Marks of nn. 5, 6, 9 and 13 (where the first number refers to the year of acquisition and the second to the reference in the *Acquisition Books* of the WAI).



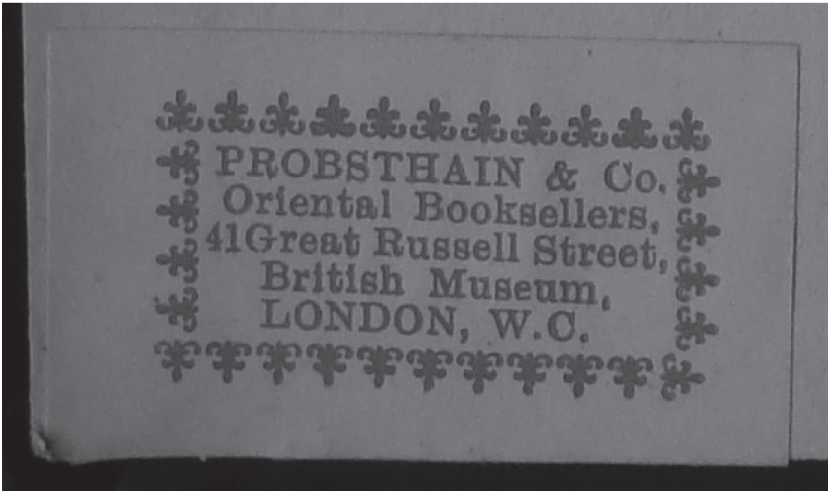
9. Frontispiece of the Huizinga, J., *Erasmus*, with an introduction by the editor [Edward W. Bok], New York ; London, Scribner, 1924 (WIL, NAD 205).



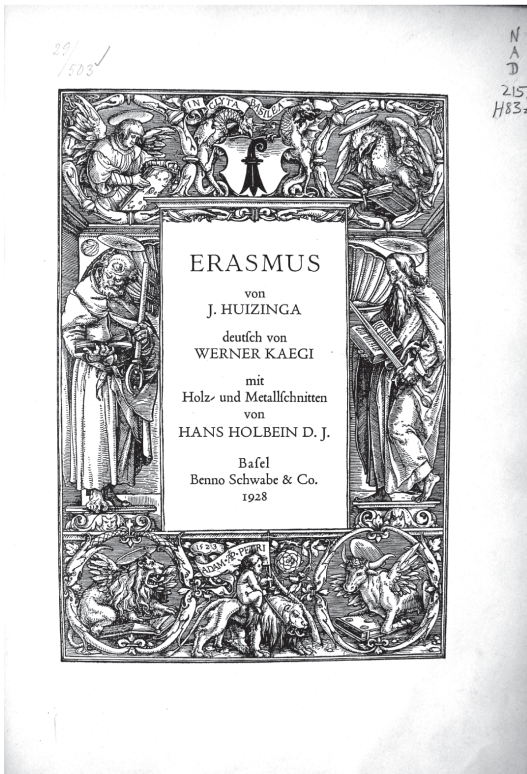
10. Back cover of n. 7 showing the ExLibris of Aby Warburg, the seal of the Warburg Institute-University of London, and the label of the supplier of the book "Probsthain & Co. Oriental Booksellers, 41 Great Russell Street, British Museum, LONDON, W. C."



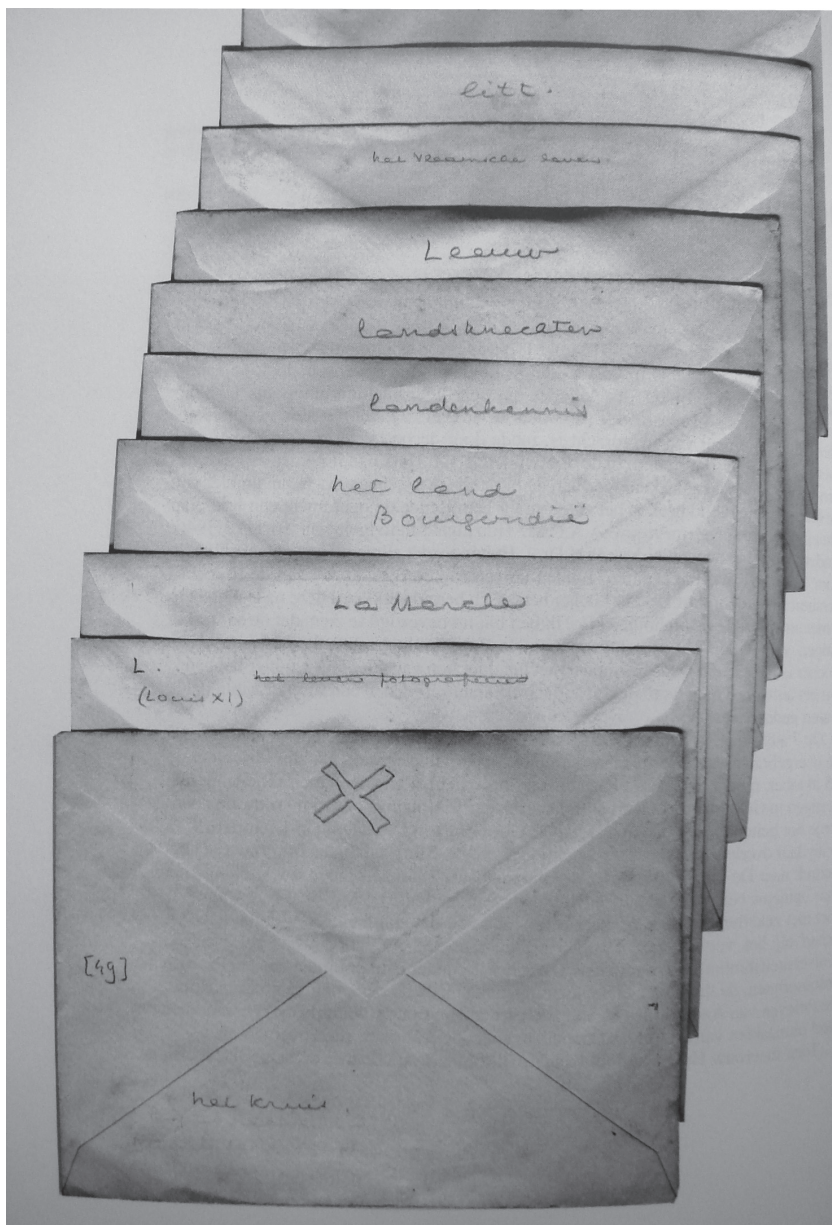
11. Personal ExLibris of Aby Warburg attached to the back cover of n. 7.



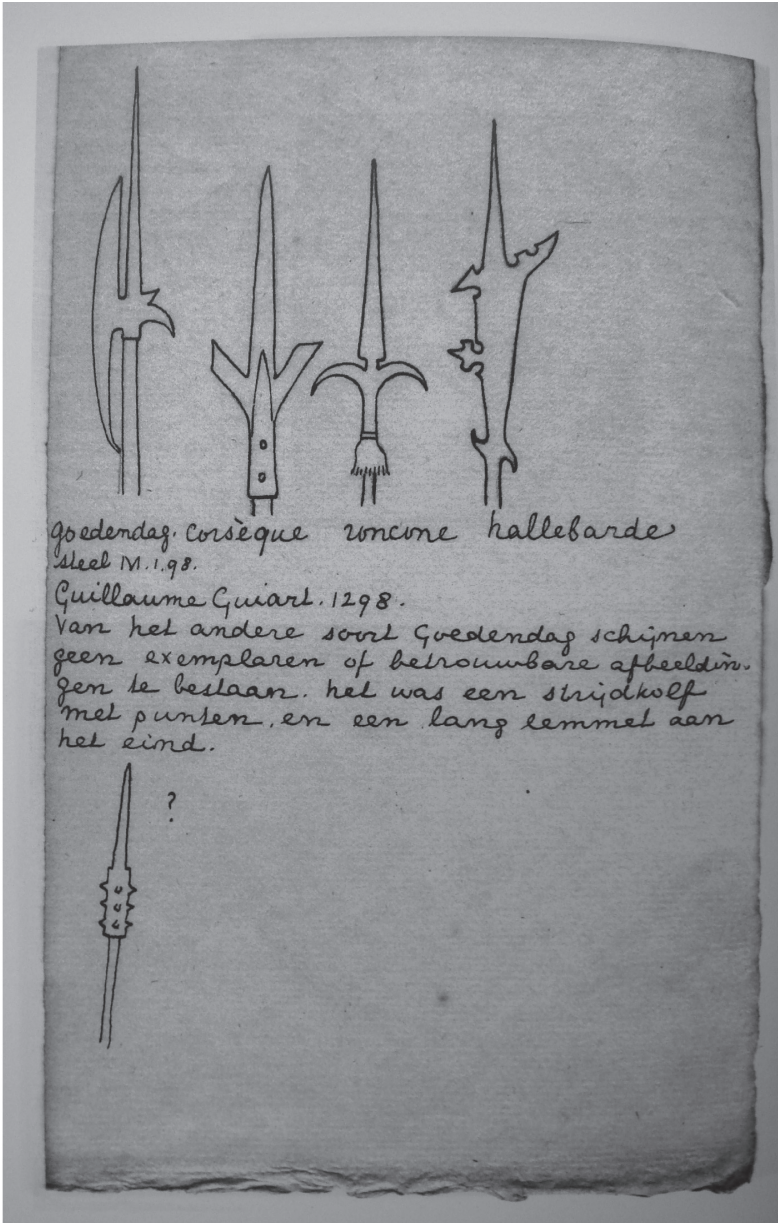
12. Label attached in the front back cover in PL 6.1. London Great Russell Street of the oriental booksellers Probsthain at £7,06 in cloth, on the 10th of June 1924.



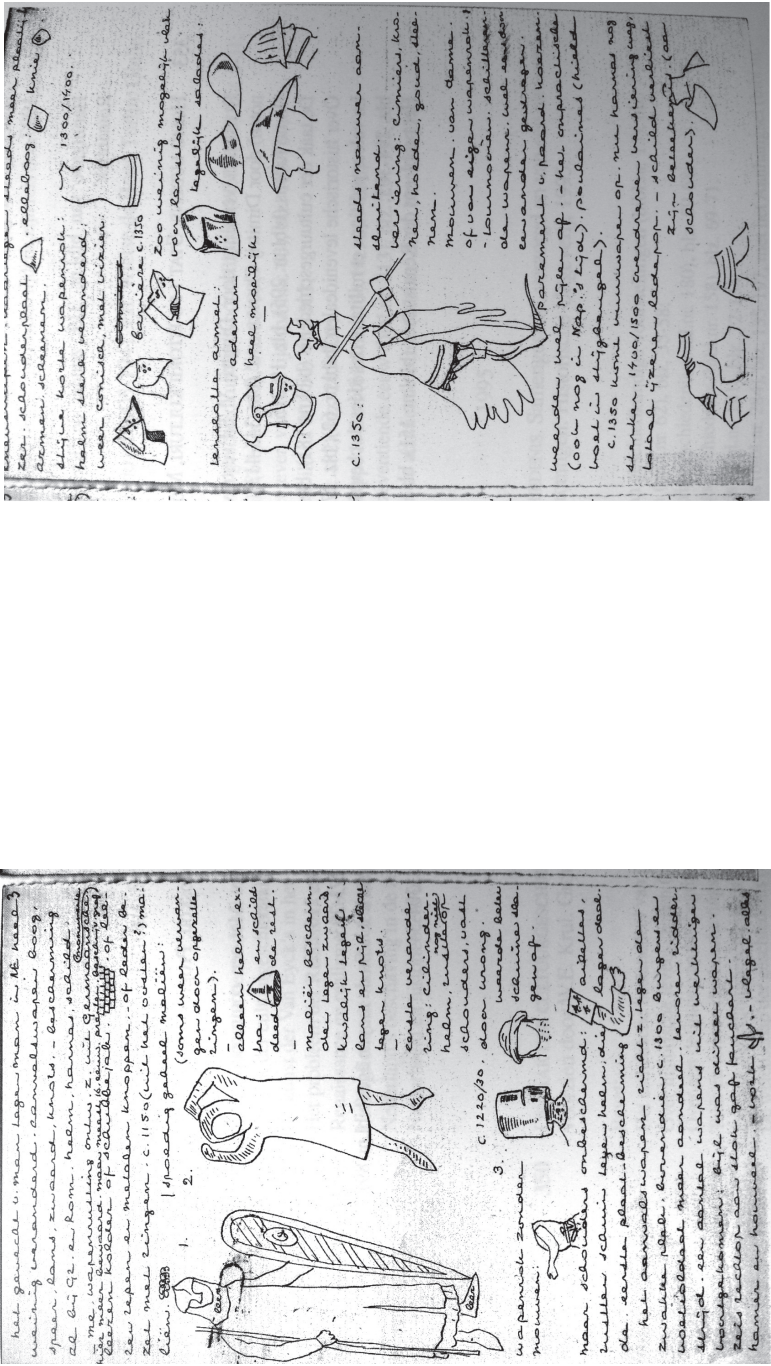
13. Frontispiece of Huizinga, J., *Erasmus*, Basel, B. Schwabe & Co, 1928, provided with engravures of the artist Hans Holbein (WIL, NAD 215).



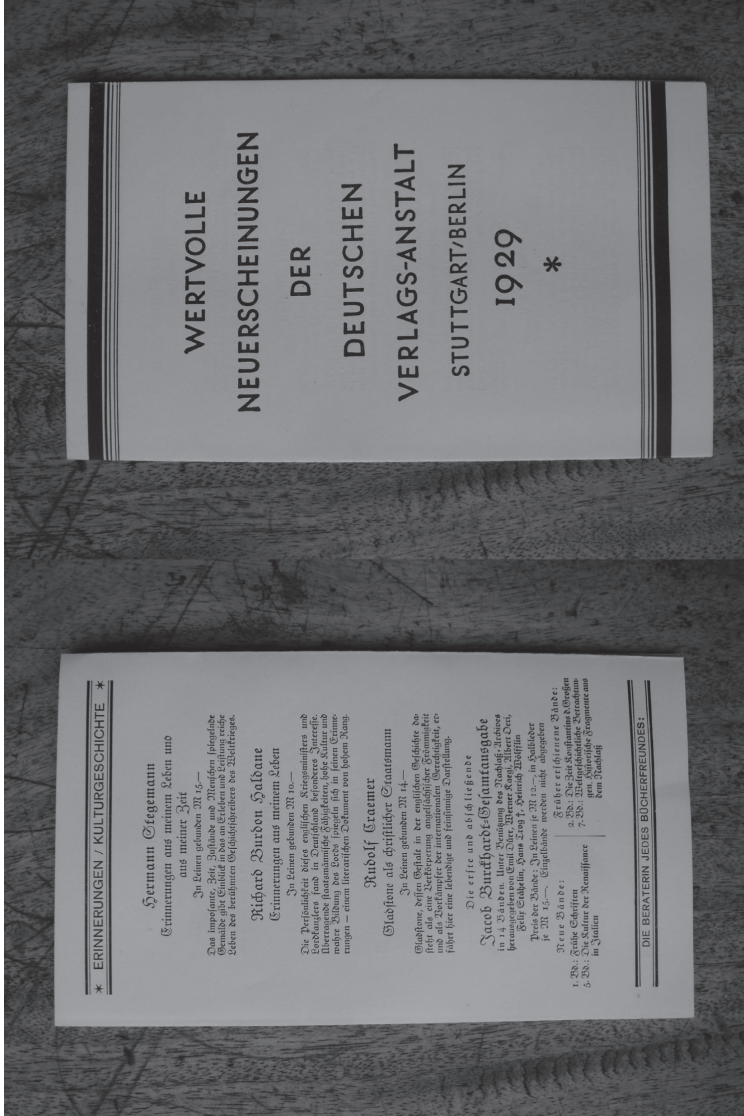
14. Envelopes corresponding to notes to *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, in: (inv.nr. 50 (1.L1-8)), in: Van Der Lem, A. *Inventaris van het archief van Johan Huizinga. Bibliografie 1897-1997*, Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codice Manuscripti XXIX, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 1998, p. Xii.



15. Huizinga's drawing from medieval stick weapons, (inv. Nr. 55 III (2.2)), in: Van Der Lem, A. *Inventaris van het archief van Johan Huizinga. Bibliografie 1897-1997*, Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codice Manuscripti XXIX, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 1998, p. 374.



16. Huizinga's drawings of the historical development of armor and martial costume (inv. Nr. 134 I (3)), in: Van Der Lem, A. *Inventaris van het archief van Johan Huizinga. Bibliografie 1897-1997*, Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codex Manuscripti XXIX, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 1998, p. 364.



17. Inside the first volume of *The Complete work of Burckhardt* we found the leaflet of the editor/bookseller announcing the production of that work in 1929. The Acquisition Pressmark is of 1930¹ but very possibly it was already ordered by Warburg in 1929 on behalf of the small editor leaflet. Frontispiece and two details inside

und als Vorkämpfer der internationalen Gerechtigkeit, erfährt hier eine lebendige und feinsinnige Darstellung.

Die erste und abschließende

Jacob Burckhardt-Gesamtausgabe

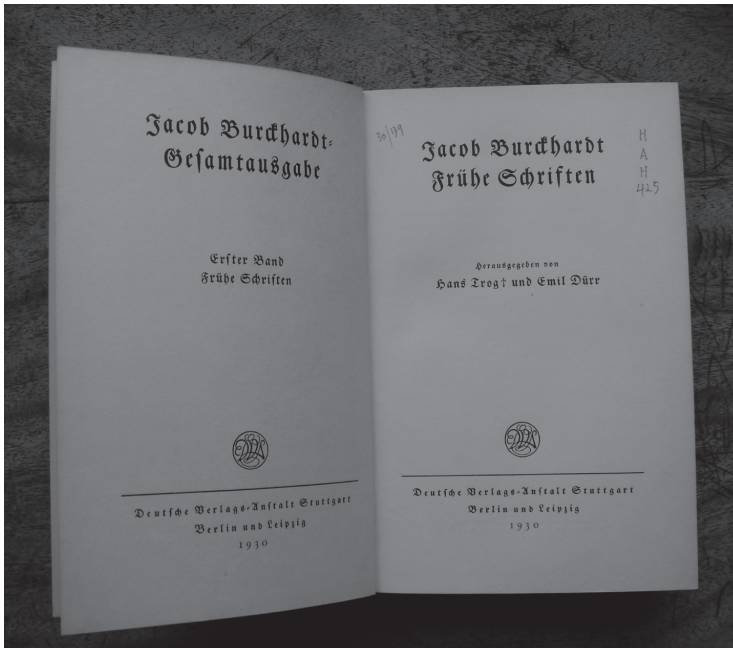
in 14 Bänden. Unter Benützung des Nachlaß-Archives
herausgegeben von Emil Dürer, Werner Kaegi, Albert Deri,
Felix Stähelin, Hans Trog †, Heinrich Wölfflin

Preis der Bände: In Leinen je M 12.—, in Halbleder
je M 15.—. Einzelbände werden nicht abgegeben

Neue Bände:	Früher erschienene Bände:
1. Bd.: Frühe Schriften	2. Bd.: Die Zeit Konstantins d. Großen
5. Bd.: Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien	7. Bd.: Weltgeschichtliche Betrachtungen. Historische Fragmente aus dem Nachlaß

DIE BERATERIN JEDES BÜCHERFREUNDES:

18. Detail of 17.



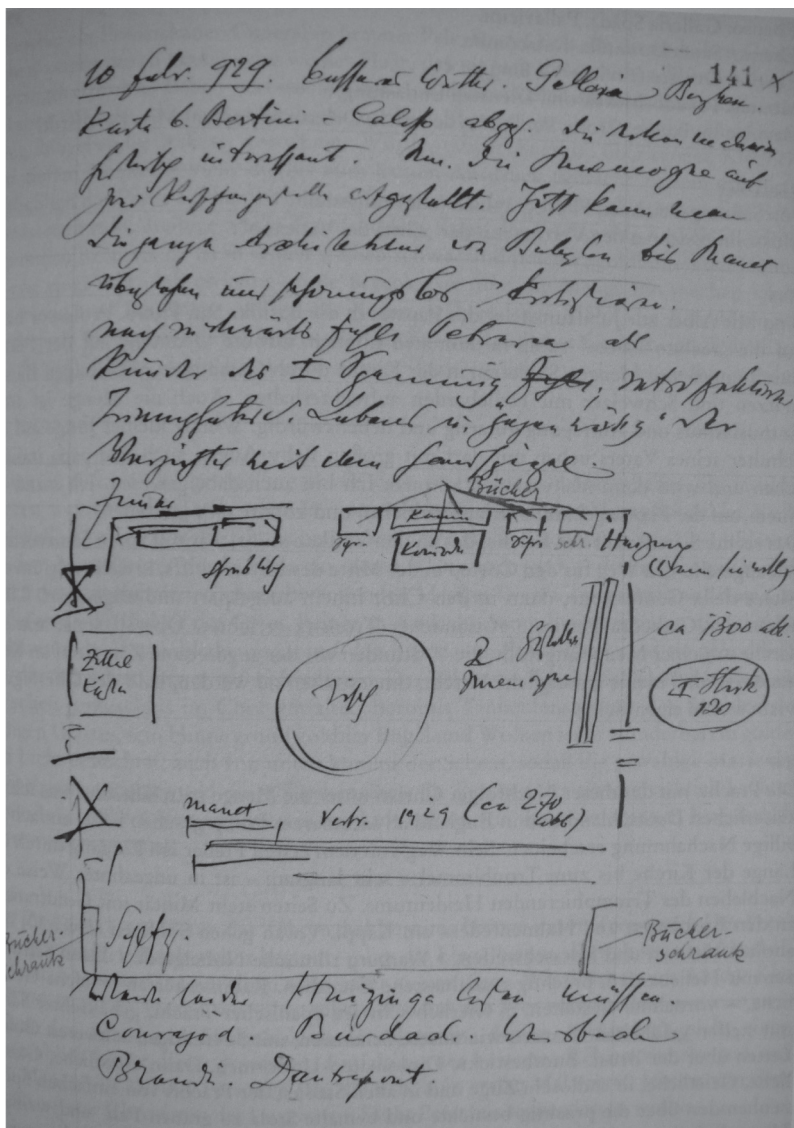
19 . Frontispiece of the book referred in n. 18: Burckhardt, J., *Frühe Schriften*, Berlin-Leipzig, Deutsche Berlags Unstalt Stuttgart, 1930. WIA 30/139 HAH 425.



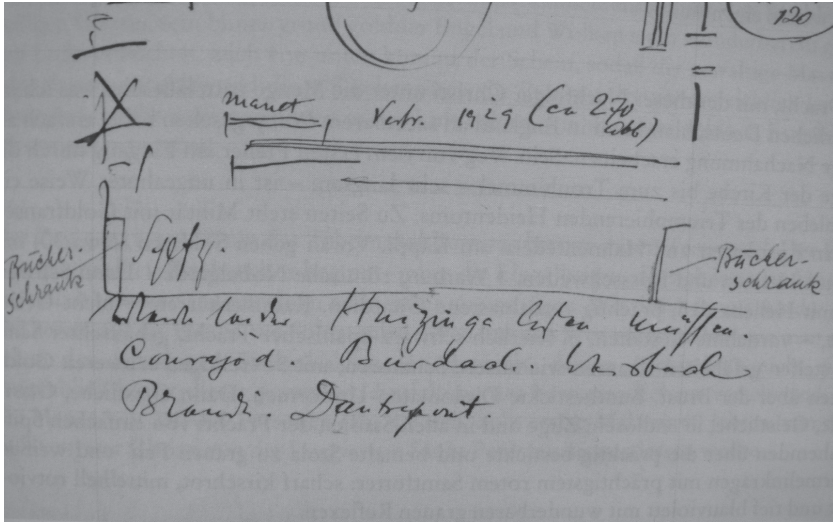
20 . Aby Warburg, *Mnemosyne*, n. 39. Botticelli: ideal style. Baldini: Amor *anticheggiante*. Pallas as Standard for the tournament. Images of Venus, Apollo and Daphne (metamorphosis) [notes of Aby Warburg and collaborators, 1929].



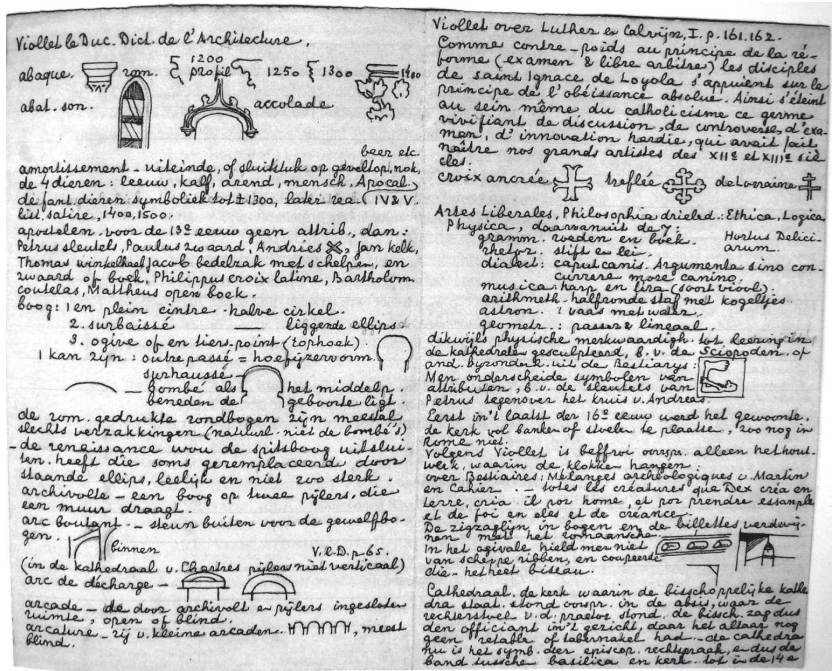
21. Aby Warburg, *Mnemosyne*, n. 39. Art North devotional images; Flemish portraits of Italians. Renato d'Anjou, the developer and collector of manuscripts. St. Jerome in the study [Notes of Aby Warburg and collaborators, 1929].



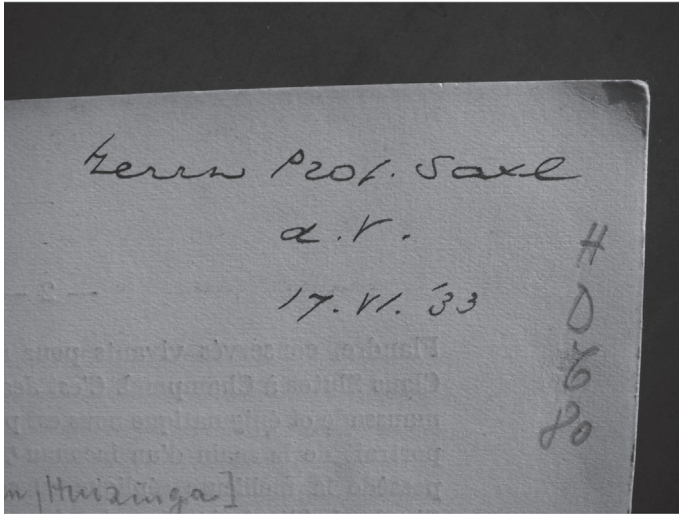
22. Page 141 (10th February 1929) of the *Tachbuch* of the *Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg* Published in: Warburg, A., *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek Warburg mit Beiträgen von Gertrud Bing und Fritz Saxl*. Herausgegeben von Karen Michels und Charlotte Schoell-Glass, in the Series *Aby Warburg Gesammelte Schriften*, Herausgegeben von Horst Bredekamp, Michael Diers, Kurt W. Foster, Nicholas Mann, Salvatore Settis und Martin Warnke, Siebte Abteilung, Band VII, Berlin, academie Verlag GmbH, 2001, p. 405 (WIL, RR 284).



23. Detail of I showing the Warburg's expression about Huizinga's work: *Werde leider Huizinga lesen müssen* ("I will unfortunately have to read Huizinga").



2.4. Huizinga's Notes from Viollet le Duc, *Dictionnaire de l'architecture* (inv. Nr. 55 III (2.2)), in Tekeningen van de historische ontwikkeling van harnas en krijgskostuum (inv. Nr. 134 I (3)), in: Van Der Lem, A. *Inventaris van het archief van Johan Huizinga. Bibliografie 1897-1997*, Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codice Manuscripti XXIX, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 1998, p. 117.



25. Huizinga, J., "La physionomie morale de Philippe Le Bon", Offprint of: *Annales de Bourgogne*, Revue historique trimestrielle publiée sous le Patronage de l'Université de Dijon et de la ville de Dijon, Dijon, (1933?), With an inscription by the author: "Herrn Prof. Saxl d. T. 17.VI.'33", WIA 33/693 HDC 80.



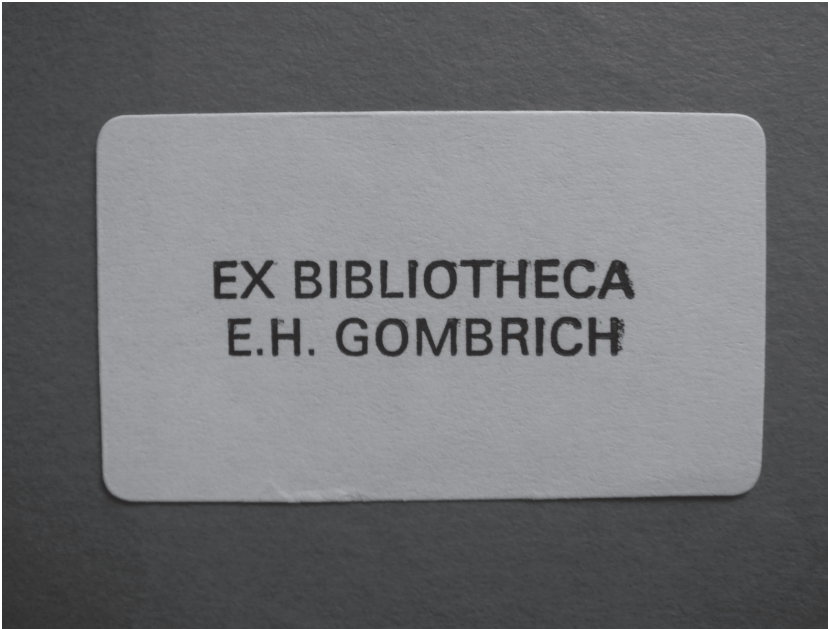
26. 'A Selection of Memorable Pictures of Patriotic History', in: Gombrich, E. H. "The High Seriousness of Play. Reflections on *Homo ludens* by J. Huizinga (1872-1945)", in: Gombrich, E. H., *Tributes. Interpreters of our Cultural Tradition*, Oxford, Phaidon Press Limited, 1984.,



27. Detail of Ex Bibliotheca Henri Frankfort, in: Huizinga, J. *De Wetenschap der Geschiedenis*, Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V., 1937 WIA 57/728.



28. Back cover with the label Ex Bibliotheca Henri Frankfort, in: Huizinga, J. *De Wetenschap der Geschiedenis*, Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V., 1937 WIA 57/728. His photo probably comes from the dust jacket coming in the original copy of the book.



29. Cf. Aston, M., "England and the Waning of the Middle Ages", in: *Medievalia et Humanistica. Studies in medieval & Renaissance Culture*, New Series, 9, The Medieval and Renaissance Society, 1979, p. 1-23.

Chronology

- 1872 Johan Huizinga was born on Dec. 7 in Groningen.
- 1891 Entered the University of Groningen, studying Sanskrit and literature
- 1897 Received his doctorate on the role of the jester in Indian drama
- 1902 Saw the famous exhibition of early Netherlandish «primitives»
- 1903-5 Lectured on Ancient History at the university in Amsterdam
- 1905 Published *The Origins of Haarlem*.
- 1905-15 Professor of History at Groningen University
- 1915-42 Professor of General History at Leiden University
- 1916-1932 Edited the periodical *De Gids*
- 1918 *Men and Mass in America*
- 1919 *The Waning of the Middle Ages*
- 1924 *Erasmus of Rotterdam*
- 1926 Visited the U. S. *America: A Dutch Historian's Vision, from Afar and Near*
- 1932 *Holland's Culture in the Seventeenth Century*
- 1935 *In the Shadow of Tomorrow*
- 1937 Lecture at the Warburg Institute on the concept of play in history
- 1938 *Homo Ludens*
- 1940 Leiden University closed by the Germans
- 1942 Held as a hostage after a speech criticizing the Nazis
- 1945 Died in the village of De Steeg (Gelderland), Netherlands on Feb. 1. Buried in the graveyard of the Reformed Church at 6 Haarlemmerstraatweg in Oegstgeest

Bibliography¹⁴⁰

I. Books¹⁴¹

- *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth centuries* (London: E. Arnold, 1950).
- *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1921).
- *Herbst des Mittelalters: Studien Über Lebens- und Geistesformen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich und in den Niederlanden* (München: Drei Masken Verlag, 1924).
- Le déclin du Moyen Age*, trans. by J. Bastin (Paris: Payot, 1932).
- Homo ludens: A Study of the Play-element in Culture*, trans. by R. F. C. Hull (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1949)
- Homo ludens: Vom Ursprung der Kultur im Spiel* (Hamburg: Rowohlts deutsche Enzyklopädie 21, 1956).
- Homo ludens: Proeve eener bepaling van het spel-element der cultuur* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1938).
- Homo ludens, Versuch einer Bestimmung des Spielelementes der Kultur* (Amsterdam: Pantheon, 1939).
- Erasmus*, ed. by Edward W. Bok (New York and London: Scribner, 1924).
- Erasmus*, Deutsch von Werner Kaegi (Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1936).
- Erasmus* (Basel: B. Schwabe & Co, 1928).
- Geschonden Wereld. Een Beschouwing over de Kansen op Herstel van Onze Beschaving* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V., 1945).
- In de schaduwen van morgen: een diagnose van het geestelijk lijden van onzen tijd* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink, 1935).
- In the Shadow of Tomorrow: A Diagnosis of the Spiritual Distemper of our Time* (London and Toronto: W. Heinemann, Ltd., 1936).
- A l'aube de la paix. Étude sur les chances de rétablissement de notre civilisation*, trans. by Cécile Seresia (Amsterdam and Anvers: Éditions Panthéon S.A., 1945).

140. The list of works we offer below does not want to be exhaustive. We selected useful works for further reading and scholarly research.

141. In this section we selected different early translations of his main works as well as originals in Dutch, and titles with special historiographical relevance for our purposes.

- Cultuur-historische Verkenningen* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1929).
- De Wetenschap der Geschiedenis* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V., 1937).
- Der Mensch und die Kultur* (Stockholm, Bermann-Fischer Verlag a.-b: Schriftenreihe "Ausblicke", 1938).
- Mein Weg zur Geschichte: Letzte Reden und Skizzen*. Deutsch von Werner Kaegi, Klosterberg, B. Schwabe, Sammlung Klosterberg, Europäische Reihe, 1947
- Amerika Levend en Denkend: Losse Opmerkingen* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1926).
- Parerga*, Herausgegeben von Werner Kaegi (Burg-Verlag-Basel: Pantheon Verlag Schwizerische Lizenzausgabe, 1945).
- Tien studiën* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1926).
- Men and Ideas, History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance*, trans. by James S. Holmes and Hans van Marle (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1959).
- Dutch Civilisation in the 17th Century and other Essays* (London and Glasgow: The Fontana Library, 1968).
- Wenn die Waffen Schweigen. Die Aussichten auf Genesung Unserer Kultur* (Burg-Verlag-Basel: Pantheon Verlag Schwizerische Lizenzausgabe, 1945).
- Leven en werk van Jan Veth* (Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1927).
- Briefwisseling (1894-1924)*, ed. by L. Hanssen and others (Utrecht: Veen Tjeenk Willink, 1989).

2. Articles or book chapters

- 'The Play Element of Culture'. *Zur Genese des Vortrags vgl. Huizingas Vorwort zu Homo ludens*. Vom Ursprung der Kultur im Spiel. Hamburg, 1956. (First ed. 1938. 27.11.1936).
- "Prologue" to the book: Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Erasmus in den spiegel van zijn brieven: een keuze uit de brieven van Erasmus*, Notes and translation by Dr. O. Noordenbos en Truus van Leeuwen, Rotterdam, W. L. J. Brusse, 1936.
- 'Clio en Melpomene, Antwoord aan professor André Jolles', in *De Gids*, 89 (1925), III, 402.
- 'Een Schakel in de Ontwikkeling van den Term Middeleeuwen?', in *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde Deel 53, Serie A, n° 5*, (1921), 135-145.

- 'La physionomie morale de Philippe Le Bon', in *Annales de Bourgogne*, Revue historique trimestrielle publiée sous le Patronage de l'Université de Dijon de l'Académie des Sciences, Arts & Belle-Lettres de Dijon et de la ville de Dijon (1933?).
- 'Die politische und militärische Bedeutung des Rittergedankens am Ausgang des Mittelalters', in *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter*, ed. by A. Borst (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, [Abt. Verl.], 1976).
- 'De academische gebouwen', in *Pallas Leidensis MCMXXV* (1925).
- 'Hern en de taalwetenschap', in *Pallas Leidensis MCMXXV* (1925).
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